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ABSTRACT

The papers in this volume represent the personal observations, interpretations, and opinions of consultants and staff who worked on Project SPAN (Social Studies/Social Science Education: Priorities, Practices, and Needs). The project reviewed and analyzed the current state of K-12 social studies in order to form a basis for recommendations for future directions that might be taken to improve social studies. The report contains three sections. The first section focuses on the current state of social studies. For example, some papers present a broad view of social studies evaluation and summarize research findings on junior and senior high students' perceptions of social studies and their knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Others examine factors affecting the climate of schools; discuss how money, mandates, and managers affect social studies; and look at educational change processes in social studies. The papers in the second section deal with the future by discussing alternatives for social studies. Titles of the papers are "A Social Roles Approach to Social Studies," "Concepts and Skills: Social Studies in 2002," "Three Recommendations for High School Social Studies," and "Desirable Characteristics of Social Studies/Social Science Education." The third section contains a complete bibliography of references consulted during the course of the project. (Author/RM)

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WORKING PAPERS FROM PROJECT SPAN

By

Project SPAN Staff and Consultants

A Project SPAN Report
Social Science Education Consortium, Inc.
Boulder, Colorado
1982

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AN INTRODUCTION TO PROJECT SPAN

Project SPAN undertook the task of describing and assessing the current and recent state of social studies/social science education, of designating desired states to which social studies might or should aspire, and of shaping recommendations as to how those desired states might be approached. This has been a formidable task, increasing in difficulty as the project moved from describing the current state to envisioning desired states to framing recommendations.

In describing the current state of social studies/social science education, the project began with three coordinated studies of science education supported by the National Science Foundation during the period 1976-78: a series of case studies conducted by the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation at the University of Illinois, a national survey conducted by the Research Triangle Institute, and a survey of literature for the period 1955-75, conducted by The Ohio State University with the assistance of the Social Science Education Consortium. These three studies, using three very different but congruent methodologies, provide a wealth of information about precollege education in natural science, mathematics, and social studies/social science education. In addition to these three fruitful sources, SPAN staff and consultants reviewed hundreds of other documents bearing on social studies and, through correspondence and at conferences, sought the advice and comments of many persons throughout the nation.

With respect to the specification of desired states and of recommendations for achieving them, the basic fact of social studies education at present is that there is a great diversity of opinion, from which it is impossible to elicit consensus. There are polar positions on the most basic issues, and a range of opinion between the poles. Some feel that social studies is in need of drastic revision, others that there is little or no need for concern.

The great diversity of opinion about desired states and recommendations that exists in the literature and in the opinions of social studies educators throughout the nation, as experienced by SPAN staff members in perusing the literature, in numerous meetings and conversations, and in voluminous correspondence, was also reflected in the twelve consultants who worked with the SPAN staff throughout the project. The twelve consultants were chosen for their known contributions to social studies literature and practice, also for their representation of various social studies roles: elementary or secondary teacher, consultant or supervisor at district or state level, professional association, university teacher. They were indeed "representative"--not only of social-studies-educator roles but also of a wide range of opinions about desired states and recommendations!

Given this diversity of opinion, both in the social studies field at large and within the group of consultants, the SPAN staff (within which there were also some differences of opinion!) had to take the ultimate responsibility for formulating the statements concerning desired states and recommendations. We wish to give full credit for information and ideas we have borrowed and used--borrowed both from the consultants and from social studies educators at large. But the staff must accept final responsibility for the content of the SPAN reports.

The staff members who worked with SPAN throughout the project are Irving Morrissett, Project Director and Executive Director of the Social Science Education Consortium, Douglas Superka, Associate Project Director and Staff Associate of SSEC, and Sharryl Hawke, Staff Associate of SSEC. Bruce Tipple, a Staff Associate of SSEC, also served as a staff member during the early part of the project, as did three Teacher Associates of SSEC, Maria Rydstedt, John Zola, and William Cleveland.

Two individuals produced commissioned papers at the request of the project staff. Dana Kurfman reviewed the status of evaluation processes in social studies and made recommendations on needed changes. Hazel Hertzberg wrote an extensive review of social studies reform efforts from 1880 to 1980.

The consultants who worked with SPAN throughout the project are:

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This publication is one of a series of reports of Project SPAN.

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PREFACE

The papers collected in this volume did not fit neatly into the two major volumes produced by Project SPAN--The Current State of Social Studies and The Future of Social Studies. The papers vary considerably in terms of purpose, level of detail, length, and topical focus. The papers were also prepared at various times during the course of Project SPAN, with some being written as early as 1979. While these papers influenced the thinking of SPAN consultants and staff, they represent, to a greater extent than other SPAN publications, the personal observations, interpretations, and opinions of particular authors.

The papers are organized into two categories. The first group deals with the current state of social studies, paralleling and elaborating the SPAN publication on that subject. The second group contains four diverse and rather radical approaches to improvement of social studies. The third and final section of this volume contains a complete bibliography of references consulted during the course of the project.

The first paper in the volume is "Evaluation in Social Studies," in which Dana Kurfman presents a very broad view of evaluation. The purpose of evaluation, he states, is "to help those involved in education make sound decisions." He includes among educational decision makers teachers, administrators, students, parents, school boards, and legislators. Kurfman cites three types of decisions as being based in varying degrees on social studies evaluation procedures--decisions related to instruction (specifically, decisions related to grading and diagnosis); decisions related to selection and placement; and decisions related to programs and curriculum. Use of various evaluation procedures and practices in relation to these types of decisions is reviewed. Included are a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of criterion-referenced and norm-referenced tests and a review of the characteristics of commercially produced social studies tests. Kurfman indicates that in spite of the quantity and diversity of evaluation procedures available to educators, typical practices are rather narrow and unsophisticated.

John Patrick, in "Junior High School Students' Learning in Social Studies," gives a succinct summary of research findings on junior high students' perceptions of social studies and their knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Some suggestions for improvements are made and some particular research needs are identified. Mary Vann Eslinger's paper, "Senior High School Students' Attitudes Toward Social Studies," dwells primarily on the interest, attitudes, and motivation of students with respect to social studies, as documented in the NSF studies. Her conclusions are rather negative, but not entirely so.

The next two papers address various factors that affect social studies teachers and teaching. In "Profession, School, and Community," Fred Newmann points to three important factors affecting the climate of schools. His major theme is why social studies does not exhibit the characteristics of professionalism to a greater extent. He also describes how the exigencies of management and control in the schools restrict depth and diversity in the teaching of social studies and explains how and why controversial issues typically receive little attention.

Douglas Superka, in "Money, Mandates, and Managers," describes three addtional effects on social studies. Federal government funding, he notes, has had some effect on social studies curriculum materials and, to a lesser extent, on social studies teachers. State and local laws and guidelines have had substantial and highly varied effects: many states mandate certain social studies topics and courses and many states adopt texts at the state level. Administrators and supervisors at state and local levels also have varied influences on social studies programs: chairpersons are usually quite influential, building principals may be, and local and state supervisors are generally seen as having rather minor influence.

In the final paper in the first section of the volume, Bruce Tipple briefly reviews "Educational Change Processes in Social Studies," describing some models of curriculum development, information dissemination, and teacher training and noting some of the successful and unsuccessful aspects of these models.

The first paper in the section on social studies futures is "A Social Roles Approach to Social Studies," by Douglas Superka and Sharryl

Hawke. It presents an organizing framework for social studies that could serve as an alternative to the dominant pattern that has existed for 50 or 60 years. They suggest a focus on seven social roles: citizen, worker, consumer, family member, friend, member of social groups, and self. Each of the roles is described in detail and the way in which each role could contribute to alleviating the six problems of social studies identified by Project SPAN is explained. Finally, answers are given to some of the objections that might be raised to the use of the suggested framework. This paper is a condensation of a separate report published by Project SPAN, Social Roles: A Focus for Social Studies in the 1980s.

In the second paper of this section, "Concepts and Skills: Social Studies in 2002," James Lengel presents an imaginative scenario dated in the year 2002. This report to a revived education directorate of the National Science Foundation describes how a new approach solved many of the problems of social studies described in the 1982 SPAN reports. The new approach is a focus on concepts and skills. Lengel describes how this approach has affected curriculum, instructional practices, research, and the handling of problems and issues.

In the third paper of this section, Fred Newmann describes three very specific changes he feels are essential to achievement of good social studies programs. One change involves students: they should be involved in community-based problematic inquiry. Another focuses on teachers: they need circumstances conducive to development of their own professionalism. The third recommendation calls for a reduction in the size of large schools as a necessary condition for improving school climate.

The final paper of this section, by John Michaelis, is "Desirable Characteristics of Social Studies/Social Science Education." In sharp contrast to Newmann's paper, Michaelis presents a broad, eclectic checklist of items that planners of social studies programs should consider, organized under the headings of rationale, focus, goals and objectives, K-12 program, and supporting elements.

Despite the heterogeneity of these papers, we hope that readers will find the volume to be both useful and stimulating.

Douglas P. Superka
Irving Morrissett

SECTION I:
THE CURRENT STATE OF SOCIAL STUDIES

EVALUATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By Dana G. Kurfman

Consensus among educators is growing regarding the purpose of educational evaluation: to help those involved in education make sound decisions (Stufflebeam et al. 1971; TenBrink 1974; Superka et al. 1978). Sometimes the decision makers are teachers or administrators. Sometimes they are students, parents, school boards, or legislators. Decision makers determine the factors they will consider in making judgments and then seek information about those factors. Thus, in the context of decision making, evaluation is the process of clarifying the decisions to be made, identifying the factors to be considered in making the decisions, and searching for information about those factors.

Problems of educational evaluation often arise because the decisions to be made are not clearly distinguished, because the factors considered in making decisions are not made explicit, and because data related to all of the factors are not available. In this paper, three types of decisions important for social studies education are distinguished, student learnings and student dispositional factors important in making such decisions are identified, and several methods of obtaining information about student learning are described. Then follow separate discussions of each of the three types of decisions as they involve social studies. The paper concludes with a brief synopsis of findings from a recent study of commercially produced social studies tests.

Three Types of Decisions

In social studies, as in other areas of learning, three kinds of decisions related to the process of evaluation can be distinguished: (1) making instructional decisions, (2) making selection/placement decisions, and (3) making program/curriculum modification decisions.

John U. Michaelis, Fred M. Newmann, and Roosevelt Ratliff provided substantial assistance in the preparation of this paper.

Instructional decisions tend to be the prerogative of teachers. Selection/placement decision makers are usually administrators or guidance counselors, while program or curriculum modification decisions are the responsibility of school administrators and boards of education. All three types of decisions depend on input from students.

Although teachers are involved in a variety of decisions during the instructional process (Hunter 1979), two of their decisions in particular are based on evaluative factors and data. One is assigning grades, the other adapting instructional strategies to account for diagnostic information about students.

Deciding what grades to give students becomes more and more significant as students move from primary school through senior high school. Grades become decisions about failure, acceptability, and excellence, as well as credit. The increasing importance of grading is based on the fact that this teacher judgment is used by administrators to decide whether students are retained, advanced, and--ultimately--graduated. Grades also serve as data which students and their parents can use in making decisions about how students should use their time and, eventually, about prospective student careers.

The second instructional decision is selection of teaching procedures and/or materials needed to correct learning deficiencies. Teachers at all levels make instructional decisions about the materials and strategies most useful in helping students learn. Much of the information obtained for such decisions can be considered to have a diagnostic function: "Diagnosis . . . is needed if reasonable treatment decisions are to be made. The teacher will be better able to recommend specific types of remediation if he knows the specific skills in which the child is deficient" (Sax 1974, p. 280).

Selection/placement decisions include admitting students to special programs, making retention or advancement decisions within a precollege school setting, deciding who will graduate from high school, and admitting students to colleges or technical schools. Such decisions are usually made by guidance counselors and administrators using criteria unrelated to social studies. General academic aptitude is the major influence on most such decisions. However, high school graduation in most states requires one or more social studies units. In addition, administrators increasingly are asked to include the results of state competency measures in social studies or citizenship as a condition for graduation. Social studies achievement tests are also used as a source of information for college admissions decisions. Moreover, the results of special examinations in American history and modern European history are used to make advanced placement decisions in many colleges and universities.

Program or curriculum modification decisions incorporate a range of such things as overall curriculum plans, grade level themes or secondary school courses, units of study, and specific learning activities. Involved as decision makers are administrators and policymakers at all levels. Many such decisions are made with input from the general public and students, as well as teachers. State and national assessments of citizenship and social studies learning can provide input potentially useful for making program modification decisions.

Two Major Factors Involved in Making Educational Decisions

Student dispositions and behaviors, as well as student learnings, are considered in making the three types of educational decisions distinguished above. Students' willingness to behave in approved ways may be as important to educational decision makers as their attainment of instructional objectives. Both the disposition to follow school and teacher rules and attainment of instructional objectives are factors in making social studies evaluation decisions.

Student dispositional factors influence instructional decisions when teachers base their grades, in part, on student willingness to complete homework and participate in class activities. Students must be willing to cooperate if teachers are to obtain accurate diagnostic feedback and plan remedial programs. High school graduation depends in part upon such behavioral factors as school attendance and tardiness. Moreover, college admissions decisions are usually influenced by students' involvement in public or school service activities. Program modification decisions are also influenced by student feelings toward the program being evaluated, as well as by what students learn from that particular program.

Student learning, evidenced by the attainment of instructional objectives, is, of course, an equally important consideration in making instructional, selection/placement, and curriculum/program modification decisions. Most often, social studies objectives deal with what students are supposed to know and understand, such as the rights and responsibilities of citizens. They also include considerable emphasis on social studies skills, such as map reading and graph interpretation. Most statements of social studies objectives include development of attitudes and values, such as respect for self and others. Some statements also include participation in public affairs, such as organized attempts to influence legislation or resolve local problems.

One of the major conditions for effective educational decision making is recognition of the full scope and breadth of social studies objectives. As indicated above, four types of objectives can usually be identified. The NCSS Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines indicate that "knowledge, abilities, valuing, and social participation should all be represented in the stated objectives of social studies programs" ("Revision of the NCSS Social Studies Guidelines" 1979, p. 269). The social studies "methods of evaluation" checklist in the Evaluative Criteria of the National Study of School Evaluation recognizes four somewhat differently stated types of objectives:

> --Evaluation procedures measure various levels of student cognition, such as knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.
> --Procedures are undertaken to measure student growth in skills appropriate to the social studies.
> --Procedures are undertaken to measure student growth in the affective domain (i.e., the development of attitudes, values, and beliefs).
> --Efforts are made to evaluate the students' abilities in both group and individual activities (Evaluative Criteria 1978, p. 230).

This is not to say that every school's social studies objectives should include all types of objectives. The NCSS guidelines also indicate that "Evaluation should be based primarily on the school's own statements of objectives as the criteria for effectiveness" ("Revision . . ." 1979, p. 272). The point is that decisions should be based on student attainment of the full range of a school's stated social studies objectives.

While including a broad range of objectives is important, each objective must be clearly formulated before relevant information can be gathered. Emphasis on behavioral objectives focuses attention on the specific things students learn to do. Thus, social studies educators are forced to think about and identify expected student outcomes. Attention to student outcomes reduces the tendency to write objectives statements that refer to what teachers and students will be doing during a learning experience rather than what students will be able to do as a result of the learning experience. More important perhaps is the emphasis on clarity and specificity required by behavioral objectives. Simply saying, for example, that students will gain increased "appreciation" of European culture is not sufficient. Instead, teachers must specify the characteristics of European cultures that students will be able to describe. As a result, social studies objectives become clear enough to direct teachers and others to the overt indications of student attainment of the objectives.

Obtaining Information on Student Dispositions and Student Learning

Information about both student dispositions and student learning is obtained in a variety of ways. One of the most common ways is observing student behavior. Another is listening to what students say and being aware of what they do not say. A third is examining student responses to assignments and questions.

Most information about dispositional factors is obtained by observing student behavior or noting the lack of expected behaviors and by obtaining student reports about their interests. Grading decisions, for example, are based in part on observations of student behavior and misbehavior. Many teachers like to rely on such "objective" information as records of tardiness, absence, and prompt completion of assignments--all of which can be recorded in the "grade book." However, more subjective forms of data gathering are also at work in the inferences teachers draw about student dispositions from student behaviors. From certain kinds of observed behaviors teachers make inferences about student "effort." Other desirable student dispositions are inferred from participation in class discussion and accommodation to the teacher's rules and regulations. Such evidence of student dispositions becomes important data in making grading decisions.

Examples of the use of student reports about their interests are available in college selection and program modification decisions. Student activities and interests provide a major source of information for college selection decisions; students are asked to describe their participation in activities as diverse as music, student government, and sports. In evaluating programs and curricula students are asked to indicate what they like and dislike about a particular program or curriculum feature. What students feel and report about programs thus becomes an important source of information for program modification decisions.

Information about student learning is obtained through observations of classroom performance, the review of homework, classroom discussions, and tests. Teachers observe student attainment of several kinds of learning outcomes. Especially in elementary school, behavior such as pointing directions, desk work, and group interactions helps teachers correct their instructional procedures and make grading decisions. Increasingly in secondary schools, homework becomes another source of information about student learning.

Teachers at all levels receive behavioral and spoken cues that lead to changes in instructional practice. Some such cues are simply facial expressions. More often they are student responses to teacher questions, as well as questions or comments made by students. In fact, the recitation mode of instruction serves both an instructional and a data-gathering purpose, as the Illinois case study investigators found: "Both recitation and examinations had been designed to measure student performance . . . Recitation stood for personal involvement and judgment; examination stood for quality control and impartiality" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:14). This finding is confirmed by studies in the 1950s and 1960s that show "class discussion" as a major evaluation technique used by about 50 percent of social studies teachers (Wiley 1977, pp. 53-54).

As indicated, teachers seldom make instructional and particularly grading decisions without information derived from written examinations or tests. As one CSSE site observer commented, "Consider for instance the presence and recurrence of these items . . . reviews before tests, taking of quizzes and tests, returning and checking of tests . . ."

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:13). Teacher-made tests, moreover, were "the most prevalent type of formal testing used in the CSSE sites" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:14).

Tests teachers make for grading and, less often, for diagnostic purposes include a variety of item types. Some social studies teachers lean toward open-ended essay questions. Others rely on true-false, matching, fill-in-the-blank, and multiple-choice questions. Studies in the 1950s and 1960s showed that teacher-made objective tests were used twice as commonly as essay tests. Many more essay tests are used in social studies classes with high-ability students (Wiley 1977, pp. 53, 54, 59). Which types are used seems to depend more on time available to make the test and teacher inclination than on appropriateness of item types for the objectives being measured.

Externally developed tests seldom provide data to help teachers make instructional decisions, probably because such tests lack sufficient correspondence with the subjectively perceived objectives of individual teachers. Information for selection/placement and program modification decisions is more likely to come from externally developed rather than teacher-made tests. Until recently, most such tests were norm-referenced. Increasingly, however, criterion-referenced tests are coming into use. Some state competency tests used for graduation decisions are criterion-referenced, as are tests providing information for program modification decisions.

A Comparison of Norm-Referenced and Criterion-Referenced Tests

Disagreement exists regarding the distinguishing characteristics and relative value of norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests. Some educators find the distinction in the emphasis of criterion-referenced tests on instructional objectives and student attainment of a pre-specified level of achievement. Yet, "both norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests are concerned with the objectives of instruction . . . Both compare the performance of the student with some criterion" (Sax 1974, p. 257). They differ in the explicitness with which instructional objectives are defined and the type of criterion with which student performance is compared.

The first major difference in the two types of tests is the scope and definition of the objectives measured. Criterion-referenced tests refer to a narrower domain of objectives than norm-referenced tests. Criterion-referenced tests require highly specific objectives and a relatively large number of items measuring each objective; at least two authorities mention a minimum of ten items (Popham 1978, pp. 93-95; Sax 1974, p. 281). In developing criterion-referenced tests, "What happens in practice is that either the universe of possible tasks is so narrowly defined and delimited in scope that many other important behaviors are unmeasured or the universe is so broadly defined that each behavior can be measured by only a few items" (Sax 1974, pp. 261-262). Norm-referenced tests, on the other hand, often cover such a broad set of ill-defined objectives that relating the results of the test to these objectives with the intent of taking corrective measures is very difficult.

The second major difference between the two types of tests is the criterion with which student performance is compared. Traditional standardized tests are norm-referenced. Results on such tests derive their meaning through reference to performance norms of a well-defined group of students. Thus, a student's raw score of say 40 percent correct may place him or her at the 60th percentile of the norming population, a result better than about 60 percent of comparable students and poorer than 40 percent of such students. In contrast, criterion-referenced tests report student attainment of, or failure to attain, a particular objective or competency. The results of such tests have meaning only when referred to the competencies or objectives measured. Criterion-referenced measures "compare the student not in relation to others but in relation to the level of performance he will be expected to achieve in a carefully defined domain of behaviors" (Sax 1974, p. 254). Thus, a student may be said to be competent in using map scales to determine the distance between two points when he or she answers nine of ten such questions correctly.

Criterion- and norm-referenced tests have common elements. Judgments about the level of performance which constitutes attainment of the competency or objective are usually made in terms of expectations about what a group of comparable students can attain. Thus, there is informal reference [illegible]ther students in criterion-referenced testing. On the other hand, responsibly developed norm-referenced tests are based on careful specifications which stipulate the objectives to be measured by the test.

A major problem in using criterion-referenced tests in social studies is the difficulty of reducing the domain of social studies to a manageable number of highly specific competencies. A glance at the lengthy breakdown of objectives drafted for social studies by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP 1980) indicates the enormousness of the task. However, for units or lessons dealing with a specific skill (graph interpretation), a specific concept (supply and demand), or a limited set of information (the differences between Hamilton and Jefferson), criterion-referenced tests can be of considerable help.

Criterion-referenced tests are most often used with hierarchically arranged domains such as mathematics, where the attainment of one skill is prerequisite to other, more complex, skills. "If the domain is largely unsequenced, the teacher can as easily establish one criterion as another" (Sax 1974, p. 262). Anyone who has attempted to set a minimum performance level on a social studies test--should it be 50, 75, or 90 percent of the items?--knows how arbitrary this process is. Because social studies objectives are generally nonsequential, one authority concludes that norm-referenced tests are more appropriate to its needs than criterion-referenced tests: "The social studies curriculum . . . is usually not highly sequenced . . . feedback regarding student performance should be norm-referenced since no one defensible criterion exists" (Sax 1974, p. 265).

Although criterion-referenced tests are best suited to clearly formulated informational, definitional, or skill objectives, the criterion-referenced movement has probably been beneficial, even for the complex, difficult-to-define, nonsequential objectives characteristic of much social studies instruction. The movement has "prompted educators to focus on what students can and cannot do and on what ways instruction has and has not been effective" (Millman 1974, p. 313).

Norm-referenced tests are most useful in making placement decisions and, to some degree, program evaluation decisions. They are also helpful in making instructional (grading) decisions, particularly when serving as the "final examination" for a course. Criterion-referenced tests can be used in making all three kinds of decisions. When determining whether students have attained an objective such as identifying directions correctly on a map, the results can be helpful in making grading decisions. When decisions are made about instructional strategies to facilitate learning, test results which identify strengths and weaknesses in attaining an objective need to be criterion-referenced. Many state competency measures used in placement decisions are criterion-referenced in terms of competencies. Likewise, when decisions are made to *modify* programs, criterion-referenced test results which point to objectives attained and objectives not attained are most helpful.

Social Studies Instructional Decisions

Although the two kinds of evaluative instructional decisions we have identified take place from the primary classroom through senior high school, grading tends to increase in importance as students move into the high school years, while the importance of modifying teaching strategies on the basis of diagnostic information tends to decrease.

Testing to Grade

Social studies teachers use a variety of personalized systems in determining grades. Major factors emphasized by teachers are student attainment of instructional objectives, often vaguely formulated, and student disposition to attend class, complete assigned work, and participate in class activities. While little information about actual grading practices is available, there is wide agreement that grades in elementary school are determined *not* primarily by demonstrated competence or quality of work, but by the amount of work completed and by student attitude in class. This is particularly evident in grading systems which rely on student "contracts" to do certain designated things: the more tasks students accomplish, the more likely they are to earn A's and B's rather than C's and D's. Emphasis appears to shift toward competence and quality of learning in the higher grades and the more academic classes.

Examination of the kinds of tests, homework assignments, and class discussion tasks commonly used indicates that teachers make grading decisions on the basis of a very narrow range of learning outcomes. When these outcomes are clear, they are dominated by low-level cognitive operations--primarily recall of information and some application of concepts (Wiley 1977, pp. 69-70). Surveys of evaluation practices show that social studies teachers "tend to ignore all but content objectives in evaluation of students" (Wiley 1977, p. 79). Social studies skills receive considerable attention in elementary and middle schools, but virtually none in senior high schools. While teachers make occasional evaluative judgments on such "affective" objectives as sense of self-esteem, democratic attitude, and sensitivity to others, there is no evidence that attainment of such objectives contributes to student grades. Even when affective variables are included in educational goals, teachers appear to devote little time to their measurement.

Studies of evaluation practices conducted from 1955 to 1975 indicate that teachers of social studies are not sophisticated about evaluation. They do not like to engage in evaluation and are uninventive in doing so. Most teachers use a limited number of assessment techniques--tests, class discussion, and examination of student's work (Wiley 1977, pp. 78-79). Nevertheless, teachers are confident that they have adequate information to make accurate judgments about student achievement. This confidence is so strong that teachers often oppose efforts to introduce more "systematic" ways of measuring student achievement (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 15:17, 15:21). To the extent that teachers have extensive contact with students, their general assessments of students' success in school-assigned tasks are probably accurate. Lack of such contact in higher grades tends to cast doubt on this accuracy. Even in elementary grades, teachers' confidence in their assessments should be qualified by the biasing effects of labeling and of interpersonal relations between teachers and students.

Little use of teacher-made tests in evaluating social studies learning is evident in grades K-3. Tests and quizzes are used at least once a week in 20 percent of K-3 social studies classes, compared with 45 percent of mathematics classes and 7 percent of science classes (Weiss 1978, pp. B56, B60, B64). Use of tests or quizzes at least once a week is found in 38 percent of grades 4-6 social studies classes, 64 percent of 7-9 social studies classes, and 60 percent of 10-12 classes (Weiss 1978, pp. B65-67).

Only occasionally do social studies teachers use tests prepared by textbook publishers or nationally standardized commercial tests to obtain information for grading decisions. "Publisher-supplied test materials are used by roughly a third of all science, mathematics, and social studies classes, except for K-3 science and K-3 social studies classes, where such tests are used by only approximately 5 percent of the classes" (Weiss 1978, p. 97). In a limited study of evaluative techniques used by American history teachers, only 8 percent reported using standardized objective tests as a major technique (Wiley 1977, p. 53). Nevertheless, social studies teachers tend to be given the results of standardized test administrations. The most common use of such tests was described by Weiss as "reporting results to individual teachers" (Weiss 1978, p. 30). Another less common use for standardized test results was indicated to be "diagnosis/prescription for individual students." It is unlikely that social studies teachers would use these results for grading purposes because such tests do not reflect the teachers' own instructional objectives.

A number of carefully conceived standardized social studies tests exist; some deal with general social studies outcomes (such as the STEP tests) and many more deal with such social studies subjects as economics, American government, and American history (Buros 1978; Superka et al. 1978). To the extent tests reflect a teacher's objectives, they can be used in deciding on formal grades.

Diagnostic Evaluation

The second major kind of instructional decision requires use of diagnostic information in modifying instructional practices and materials so students can be helped to remedy learning deficiencies. In fact, an excellent case can be made for involving students in identifying their own strengths and weaknesses so subsequent stages in the learning process can be planned to maximize learning.

Much of the diagnostic information teachers obtain comes from the oral and written work of students. Recitations help teachers identify the points that have gotten across and those that have not. Written work (when there is time to read it!) also provides valuable clues to student attainment of objectives. Unfortunately, most teacher responses to student work--whether oral or written--convey no more information to the student than the judgment, "this is good" or "bad." The judgment "good" provides no clues as to what attributes of the work are considered "good." More-precise feedback would presumably guide students to what they should try to do to improve their work.

Standardized tests would seem to be a promising source of diagnostic information, but their actual use for diagnostic purposes appears to be limited. Weiss (1978, p. 30) reported that standardized tests were used for "diagnosis/prescription for individual students" in 34 percent of K-6 social studies classes and 10 percent of 7-12 social studies classes.

A number of standardized social studies tests lend themselves to diagnostic use. Test manuals often provide information on the classification of items in terms of both skill and understanding objectives. When provided for a specified student population, item difficulty information is helpful in establishing expectation levels. A reviewer of the "Sequential Tests of Educational Progress: Social Studies" underscored the potential of these tests for diagnosis of student social studies skill development: "A well-organized and easy-to-use item classification system is provided in the manual for each series. Items are classified by skill level--organizing, interpreting, or evaluation information . . . Percentages of the normative sample passing each item are given, so that even though the test is not divided into subtests, users can reference specific skills, even one as unique as the ability to interpret cartoons" (Mullis 1978, p. 1425).

Even when item-classification information is lacking for a standardized test, teachers can set up their own categories of objectives and classify the test items accordingly. Items unrelated to the objectives considered important can be left out of the diagnostic analysis.

One of the reasons teachers do not use diagnostic information in making instructional decisions is the complexity of the task. For example, a teacher could administer the social studies sections (maps, graphs, and tables) of the "Iowa Tests of Basic Skills," machine-score the answer sheets, and provide the results on each item for every student. The results could be organized in terms of such major subskills as locations, directions, distance, symbols, and graph interpretation.

But without considerable help, most teachers have neither the time nor the patience to cope with computer printouts of such detailed diagnostic information on individual students.

Social Studies Selection/Placement Decisions

Placement Decisions

Administrators place students in special programs and special sections of standard social studies courses, but seldom do the criteria used in making these placement decisions reflect performance on social studies goals. Most commonly, such decisions are made primarily on the basis of information from reading tests or general intelligence measures and past academic performance. Such is also the case with decisions about who will graduate from high school and, to a lesser extent, who will be admitted to colleges and who will be given advanced placement in college programs.

Use of social studies information for placing students in special programs tends to decrease in the upper grades. Use of standardized social studies tests in placing students in remedial programs was reported to be "great" by 31 percent of elementary schools and by only 18 percent of secondary schools. For placing students in gifted programs such use was reported at 28 percent for grades K-6 and 8 percent for grades 7-12 (Weiss 1978, p. 30).

Graduation Decisions

High school graduation decisions do depend to some degree on social studies criteria. Most states require one or more credits in social studies for high school graduation; 68 percent of the states require more than one credit (Weiss 1978, p. 23). Most states stipulate that one of these credits be in American history and/or American government. Sixty-eight percent of the states require American history and 32 percent American government (Weiss 1978, p. 23). Thus, social studies teachers' grading decisions provide one basis for subsequent graduation decisions.

Demonstrated competency on standardized tests involving social studies goals is rapidly becoming a second criterion for deciding who will and will not graduate from high school. Thirty-seven states have mandated minimum competency testing programs. Other states have testing programs without explicit state legislative mandate (NAEP 1979). The most commonly tested competencies, reading and arithmetic, often include measures of social studies outcomes. For example, Maryland functional reading tests reflect four competencies: locating information, understanding forms, gaining information, and following directions (Declared Competencies Index 1979). To do well on these tests, students must demonstrate that they understand consumer and career reading materials, can read maps, and can interpret graphs.

It is not clear how many states have success on social studies or citizenship competency tests as a graduation requirement. Weiss (1978, p. 31) reported that 22 percent of the states were planning basic competency programs in the social studies. Wiley (1977, pp. 73-74) reported that in 1973 66 percent of the states either had or were considering testing programs in social studies or citizenship. The position statement of the NCSS on graduation competency testing refers to a 1978 study, noting that "fifteen states have statewide testing programs that are specifically related to one or more social studies subjects, and in twenty-three states the competency testing program directly or collaterally impinges in the content of the social studies curriculum" (Fox et al 1979, p. 369). However, it is not clear how many or which states require success on such tests as a prerequisite for graduation.

There seem to be no commonly accepted grade levels at which competency tests are to be administered (Wiley 1977, pp. 224-234). However, when demonstrated competency is a requirement for graduation, legal opinion suggests that students must be exposed in the classroom to relevant knowledge and skills before being tested (NAEP 1979). Care must be taken to give students opportunities to demonstrate competence more than once and to provide remedial learning experiences after each unsuccessful effort. Thus, most states begin their basic skills competency testing in the early years of high school and provide several opportunities for students to demonstrate competence before the date of graduation.

The future of social studies/citizenship competency testing as a requirement for graduation is unsure. The fact that 37 states have mandated some form of minimum competency testing suggests widespread support for the concept. Whether this support extends to requiring some form of "citizenship" or "life skills" minimum standards for graduation may be questionable, however. On the one hand, there appears to be as much legal basis in state constitution clauses for requiring citizenship competency as for requiring competency in "basic skills" (NAEP 1979, p. 2). Moreover, the little evidence available suggests that parents believe secondary schools should do more competency testing (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:91). On the other hand, some school administrators face difficult political problems when school comparison scores are reported. Social studies teachers show little enthusiasm for, and in many cases, considerable opposition to, competency testing. The National Council for the Social Studies, in adopting a position statement on graduation competency testing, reflects this uncertainty: "Despite reservations about the extent to which testing will in fact improve the quality of student learning and performance, we acknowledge the expansion of state-mandated programs . . . The purposes of testing must go beyond the certification of eligibility for graduation to include the diagnosis of student deficiencies early enough to plan effective instructional intervention" (Fox et al 1979, p. 371).

College Entrance Decisions

The role of social studies in college admissions and placement decisions is limited. The major considerations in college admissions appear to be high school grades, scholastic aptitude test results, and extracurricular interests. Although achievement test results appear to be considered seldom in such decisions, social studies is included in two College Board achievement tests: "American History and Social Studies" and "European History and World Cultures." Combined, these two tests reflect the most common goals of required social studies courses in high schools. More significant, in that college credit is usually granted and colleges allow advanced placement in their history programs, are the "Advanced Placement American History Examination" and the "Advanced Placement European History Examination." Both of these examinations require skills of historical analysis as well as knowledge of historical content. Students are also required to demonstrate writing ability. Both of these examinations result in grades on a five-point scale, with a five considered "extremely well qualified." Approximately half of

American colleges and universities "grant advanced placement and credit, or one of these, to students presenting Advanced Placement Examination grades of 3 or higher" (College Entrance Examinations Board 1979, p. 19).

Social Studies Program Modification Decisions

Social studies program modifications have usually been prompted by one or more such influences as (1) the passage of time ("It has been ten years since we looked at our social studies program!"), (2) a shift in local political priorities or community pressures (pressure to include ethnic studies), (3) a change in decision-making personnel (a new superintendent), and (4) a new national emphasis (structure of the disciplines in the 1960s). Another more recent influence on program modification decisions is the use of results from locally developed evaluation instruments, nationally normed tests, and state testing programs.

Program Modification Based on Local Evaluation

Local curriculum evaluation as a basis for program modification decisions depends on an extensive pool of measures keyed to local objectives. Use of such criterion-referenced measures permits schools to obtain information about student attainment of varied objectives. Insufficient achievement of particular objectives suggests program inadequacies that may be corrected by appropriate curriculum modifications.

More and more school districts are developing data bases for social studies program modification decisions by developing their own instruments. Sources of such items include the sets of exercises released by the National Assessment of Educational Progress. These exercises have the advantage of performance data on clearly defined groups of students. However, the major source of items for local assessment instruments are the tests made by social studies teachers. Items on such tests bear a close relationship to the teachers' objectives and thus meet the major requirement for items in locally developed measures.

Prince George's County, Maryland, for example, has initiated an extensive social studies program evaluation effort. Measures were developed for four groups of social studies objectives: (1) social studies skills, (2) world studies understandings, (3) American life understandings, and (4) attitudes toward social studies and social science disciplines. These measures were administered to sixth-, eighth-, and eleventh-grade students. More than 500 items, with some repetitions across grade levels, were administered on a sampling basis. In a variation on matrix sampling (Husek and Sirotnik 1968), from two to seven different sets of measures were alternated among students to reduce test administration time.

Program evaluation measures can be devised to cover a wide range of objectives, including attitudinal ones. Whereas using student attitudes as a basis for grading decisions is inappropriate, assessment of the attitudes of groups of students with respect to global-mindedness, the law, or ethnic differences can be an essential source of information about program effectiveness. Many instruments are available for this kind of examination (Superka et al. 1978). Few such instruments are directly related to a school's particular objectives, but they do suggest ways of assessing attitudes. Many of these use an agree-disagree or multiple-choice format suitable for assessing groups of students (Carswell 1970).

An attitudinal survey, for example, provided the basis for making decisions on the effectiveness of a required ninth-grade course called Decision-Making in Contemporary America. A part of the summary concluded, "The results indicate that the students have a very positive feeling about the four introductory topics, with information about careers receiving the highest rating . . . Local and state government and national government received negative ratings . . . Government should be an area of increased concern for teachers as they work on curricular revision" (Vetter 1976, p. 6). Thus, information about student attitudes provided the basis for subsequent curriculum modification decisions.

Program Modification Based on the National Assessment of Educational Progress

Another kind of social studies testing potentially influential in making curriculum modification decisions is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in Citizenship and Social Studies. Two national assessments have been made in social studies (1971-72 and 1975-

76) and in citizenship (1969-70 and 1975-76).* Representative samples of 9-year-olds, 13-year-olds, 17-year-olds, and young adults (ages 25-26) were tested in each assessment. Results were reported separately for each group. NAEP has also reported summaries of exercises on such topics as political attitudes and consumer education (NAEP Newsletter 1979). Many of the exercises and their results have been made public and are available for use by states and local school systems. Results are reported for regions of the country and a number of other categories, but never for states. Thus, National Assessment results have potential usefulness for national curriculum decisions but are only indirectly usable by state social studies curriculum makers.

The NAEP citizenship assessments included questions or test exercises for such objectives as concern for others, individual rights and freedoms, law and order, participation in community improvement, international relations, rationality in communication, and respect for families. The first social studies assessment was based on five general objectives in which students were to:

- --Have curiosity about human affairs
- --Use analytic-scientific procedures effectively
- --Be sensitive to creative-intuitive methods of explaining the human condition
- --Have knowledge relevant to the major ideas and concerns of social studies
- --Have a reasoned commitment to the values which sustain a free society (NAEP 1970, pp. 9-27).

These objectives were modified somewhat for the second assessment, leading, in turn, to a third revision in 1979. This revision combined citizenship and social studies (NAEP 1980) into the following objectives:

- --Demonstrates skills necessary to acquire information
- --Demonstrates skills necessary to use information
- --Demonstrates an understanding of individual development and the skills necessary to communicate with others
- --Demonstrates an understanding of and interest in the ways human beings organize, adapt to, and change their environments
- --Demonstrates an understanding of and interest in the development of the United States (NAEP 1980, pp. 5-25).

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*A third social studies/citizenship assessment was underway at the time this volume was published.

These five objectives subsume 31 less general objectives. These, in turn, subsume almost 200 more-specific objectives. Even these, however, are quite general. For example, one of the most specific objectives subsumed under the first major objective above is "Recognizing errors in logic." A "specific objective" under the last objective above is "Understanding factors that influence economic behavior." A review of NAEP objectives provides some insight into the vast scope of social studies and the enormousness of the task of obtaining information about student achievement in social studies.

Program Modification Based on State Competency Testing

With this highlighting at the national level of the extensive scope of social studies objectives, it is unfortunate that one of the first effects of state competency testing has been to decrease the instructional time provided for social studies. State competency tests in reading and arithmetic appear to have had just this effect on social studies programs. Test results showing apparent school or school system reading inadequacies have been used to shift school time from social studies objectives to the practice of reading skills. There is considerable evidence that decisions have been made to reduce social studies time and increase the time devoted to reading, particularly in elementary and middle schools (Fox et al 1979, p. 369).

Another influence of state competency testing derives from the content of the reading tests themselves, particularly those considered to be functional reading tests. For example, many of the readings in the "Maryland Functional Reading" tests consist of either consumer education materials (such as product labels and store checkout slips) or career education materials (such as job applications). How natural, therefore, for social studies classes to be given a major responsibility for developing competency in functional reading. One of the results of this kind of reading emphasis is a conscious or unconscious decision by some school authorities to include more "functional" materials in social studies classes at the expense of more traditional history, government, and geography content.

Based on this experience with reading tests, future social studies competency testing can be expected to have a comparable influence on social studies program modification decisions. To the extent that "life skills" or citizenship objectives are measured in state competency tests at the expense of other objectives, social studies program modification decisions will reflect these emphases. Usually such competency tests concentrate on political, consumer, and career objectives at the expense of history and geography.

Examples of the kinds of social studies objectives found in state competency programs are those developed by Maryland (*Declared Competencies Index* 1979). In addition to the "basic skills" of reading, writing, and mathematics, three areas with a heavy social studies emphasis are included: survival, citizenship, and the world of work (Hornbeck 1977).

Almost all of the survival competencies are related to social studies:

--Understanding the interaction of people with the natural environment
--Knowing community resources
--Knowing consumer rights and responsibilities
--Understanding the management of personal finances
--Understanding consumer economics
--Demonstrating social awareness
--Demonstrating effective parenting skills

As might be expected, all the citizenship competencies are related to social studies:

--Knowing civic responsibilities in a democratic society
--Understanding the values, functions, and limitations of a system of law
--Knowing and exercising individual, group, and societal rights
--Demonstrating a knowledge of the organization of local, state, and national governments
--Demonstrating an understanding of the processes of government
--Demonstrating an awareness of civic affairs and processes

At least half of the world of work competencies are related to social studies:

--Understanding the nature, structure, and requirements of work
--Demonstrating career planning and development skills (Hornbeck 1977, pp. 98-101).

Testing for these competencies in Maryland was planned for 1981. Since the results of such competency tests will be reported publicly for schools and school systems, these competencies are likely to be given more attention in decisions about social studies curriculum modifications than objectives of American history and world understanding, for which test results will not be available. Even less attention can be expected to be directed toward such intangible objectives as respect for others, group process skills, and critical thinking skills.

As part of its "Project Basic" implementation plan, the Maryland State Department of Education requires local school systems to identify the specific points in their curriculum where the basic competencies are taught. If such points cannot be identified, the curriculum is to be modified to assure student instruction on all the basic competencies. This is a direct example of the influence of a state competency testing program on curriculum modification decisions.

Thus, social studies program modification decisions made at local levels are being influenced--for better or worse--by efforts to obtain objective information about student achievement. Local data-gathering efforts are expanding, perhaps in response to state and national assessments, but also because such information is seen as helpful in making local curriculum revision decisions.

The development of test item pools to obtain information for program modification decisions holds promise for an improved data base to make instructional and placement/selection decisions as well. The availability of items measuring a great variety of objectives should help teachers make better decisions about grades and remedial teaching strategies. It should also help administrators make better decisions in selecting and placing students in programs of greatest benefit for them.

An Analysis of Commercially Produced Social Studies Tests

A recent NCSS Bulletin entitled Criterion-Referenced Testing for the Social Studies (Williams and Moore 1980) contains many useful findings and discussions related to evaluation in social studies. Chapter 2 of that book is particularly relevant to this paper. That chapter contains a report of a study of commercially produced social studies tests

(Moore 1980, pp. 9-25). The specific purpose of this study, conducted by the Committee on Testing of NCSS, was to: "Acquire a representative sample of commercially produced social studies tests and analyze these tests for congruency with learning outcomes derived from the [NCSS] Guidelines." Since this unique and important study is directly related to this paper, its major findings are quoted below:

Observation 1:	Commercial tests of social studies generally sample the traditional and extant social studies curriculum offerings quite well. Special-purpose state tests were more likely to include "related" social studies content not found on national tests.
Observation 2:	Pervasive social issues were seldom the subject of test items on commercial tests and were even less often included on the various state tests.
Observation 3:	While ethnic tokenism was generally avoided on state and commercial tests, holistic views of ethnic groups were not adequately represented.
Observation 4:	Commercial tests generally reflect an appropriate balance between simple recall (knowledge) items and items requiring skill applications. Skill items were considerably more prevalent on commercial tests than on state tests.
Observation 5:	Information-acquisition skills--using tables, maps, graphs, visuals, references, and timelines--were adequately sampled and represented on commercial tests and those state tests including skill performances.
Observation 6:	Information-processing skills were well represented on commercial tests and state achievement tests. State NAEP-type and competency tests generally ignored higher order skills.
Observation 7:	While test publishers provide items testing a range of skills, they do not report subscores for skill cate-

gories, nor do they define the skill categories (or sequences) used for test development.

Observation 8: The process of valuing in particular and the affective domain in general were noticeably absent from the commercial tests and from most state tests.

(Moore 1980, pp. 16-19)

These results tend to confirm the generally held belief that standardized tests in social studies do not include valuing and social issues. Contrary to popular notions, however, the results seem to indicate that commercially produced tests do relate "quite well" to the existing social studies curriculum and do include a substantial number of items measuring social studies skills. These findings, while perhaps needing further confirmation and exploration, are useful data for curriculum planners, developers, and evaluators in social studies.

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JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' LEARNING IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By John J. Patrick

This discussion of student characteristics is organized around four questions: (1) What do students know? (2) What can students do (skills)? (3) What do students believe (values and attitudes)? (4) What is the association between certain learner variables and student achievement? The paper concludes with a call for more data about particular student characteristics.

Student Perceptions of Social Studies

Social studies is unpopular. Students are likely to view it as dull, impractical, trivial, and irrelevant. They are more likely to believe that achievement in English and mathematics is related to future occupational success that achievement in social studies. Students complain that recall of facts is overemphasized (Wiley 1977, pp. 203-204; Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 10:8, 13:27).

Students who express satisfaction and interest in the social studies tend to be in elective or advanced classes. Students also tend to rate social studies classes according to their perceptions of the teacher. If the teacher can establish rapport with them, get them involved, and capture their interest, they see the class as satisfactory (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 13:26-28).

Student interest probably contributes to achievement. Both common sense and research suggest that lack of interest impedes learning (Wiley 1977, p. 204).

Students' Knowledge

What do junior high school students know about government and politics, geography, history, and economics? The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) provides findings about the knowledge of nationally representative samples of 13-year-olds at two time periods--1972 and 1976. In addition, studies of the political and economic knowledge of youngsters ages 12-14 provide additional findings.

Preadolescents (seventh- and eighth-graders) are aware of politics and government. They seem to have a general sense of the need to maintain order and social stability and appreciate the functions of rules and government in ordering behavior and maintaining social stability (Patrick 1977, pp. 196-197).

A majority of 13-year-olds know about superficial features of American governmental institutions. They know some details about government: for example, that Congress is composed of two houses, that the power of public officials is limited by law, and that certain public officials are elected to office while others are appointed. Most 13-year-olds recognize the need for government and laws and can state at least one positive purpose served by law. They have knowledge of criminal rights, the power of the courts, and the constitutional rights of individuals (NAEP 1976, pp. 21-25).

Unfortunately, preadolescents do not know much about government and politics that they ought to know, given curricular emphases and instructional objectives. For example, most 13-year-olds do not know the names of key public officials and political leaders. Although most can name the president and vice president, they are generally unable to name their senators, congresspersons, or governor (NAEP 1978a, pp. 37-38).

Most 13-year-olds lack basic knowledge of the structure and functions of American government. For example, only 16 percent of a national sample knew that Congress can refuse to provide money for military action. Only 46 percent knew that the president cannot appoint people to Congress. Only 31 percent knew that each state has two senators in the U.S. Senate. Most preadolescents also lack knowledge of the distinct functions of local government (NAEP 1976, pp. 25-27).

Early adolescents seem to be relatively ignorant of political processes and patterns of political behavior. They lack knowledge of how to participate in politics, of sociocultural forces associated with political behavior, and of the relationship of the social class system to differences in influence and power of different groups of citizens. They also know little of the processes of governance in such important groups as the Congress or city councils (Patrick 1977, pp. 197, 214).

The average scores of 13-year-olds on the NAEP political knowledge items was 49 percent (1972) and 47.6 percent (1976) (NAEP 1978b, p. 10). There is much room for improvement.

Turning to economic understanding, we find that most early adolescents have low levels of "economic literacy"--the ability to deal competently with the economic aspects of public issues and with the economic aspects of decisions in their daily lives. They do not know basic facts and concepts about the workings of our economic system. A survey of about 20,000 secondary school students found that "most did not know that the U.S. economy is based on a free-enterprise system." This study also revealed basic misunderstandings of capitalism and the American economy (Flieger 1977, p. 76). Studies conducted during the past 30 years by the Joint Council on Economic Education have also documented the general public's lack of economic literacy (Hansen 1977, pp. 61-80).

Various surveys, including the NAEP and state-level assessments, show serious deficiencies in knowledge of economics (Wiley 1977, p. 249). The average scores of 13-year-olds on the NAEP economics items in 1972 and 1976, respectively, were 47.7 percent and 50.5 percent (NAEP 1978b, p. 6).

Knowledge of geography and history is also quite limited. Thirteen-year-olds lack understanding of such basic geographic concepts as latitude and longitude. The average scores of 13-year-olds on the NAEP history items in 1972 and 1976, respectively, were 63 percent and 64.1 percent (NAEP 1978b, pp. 8-9). One especially glaring gap in knowledge is ignorance of the contribution of minority groups to American culture and history (Wiley 1977, p. 212).

In summary, junior high students appear to be ignorant of many basic facts and concepts in civics, history, geography, and economics. This ignorance may, in some cases, be due to lack of exposure to certain subject matter. It may, in other cases, result from poor teaching, poor instructional materials, or inadequate learning environments.

Skills of Students

What can students do with their knowledge? What cognitive skills do they have? What group participation skills do they demonstrate?

Cognitive skills involve using information and ideas purposefully. Examples of lower-level cognitive skills are finding information, classifying information, and literal comprehension of information. Examples of higher-level cognitive skills are evaluating information and ideas and using knowledge to solve complex problems.

Preadolescent students tend to think concretely. They have not yet developed cognitive maturity but may make tentative and fleeting moves into the realm of complex cognition. The research of Jean Piaget and associates indicates that the 12-year-old is beginning to show the cognitive capacity necessary to use science as a way of knowing (Wiley 1977, pp 199-202).

The 13-year-old is at the threshold of gaining the ability to deal with social science abstractions, to reason from premises, to extrapolate from what is known to what is probably true about the unknown, to speculate and theorize, and to use the hypothetico-deductive method of formulating and testing hypotheses. Thirteen-year-olds can benefit from instruction aimed at developing higher cognitive capacity. Most have not, however, begun to think consistently at higher cognitive levels (Patrick 1977, p. 200).

Early adolescents demonstrate low-level cognitive capability when thinking about legal and moral issues (Patrick 1977, p. 199). However, students who are exposed to systematic instruction about simple skills of finding, organizing, and interpreting information may make significant gains in skill learning (Patrick 1977, p. 215).

The average scores of 13-year-olds on the NAEP cognitive skills items for 1972 and 1976, respectively, were 63.4 percent and 61.4 percent (NAEP 1978b, p. 17). Early adolescents have large skill deficiencies in interpreting maps, graphs, and tables. They also seem to have difficulty with such higher-level cognitive tasks as identifying reliable and unreliable sources of information and making inferences. In contrast, they seem to perform adequately when faced with such lower-level cognitive tasks as finding information (Wiley 1977, p. 249).

Students' Attitudes and Values

What attitudes and values associated with the social studies do students express? Attitudes and values associated with civic education are especially pertinent, as they have to do with support for democracy--the practice of majority rule with protection of minority rights.

Early adolescents express attitudes supportive of maintaining law and order and of obedience to legitimate authorities. They tend to accept the right of duly-elected representatives in government to make decisions that reflect the will of the majority (Patrick 1977, p. 201).

Most early adolescents express general opposition to racial, religious, and sex discrimination in employment. They express general support for equal housing opportunities as well as general social acceptance of people of other races or religions (NAEP 1976, pp. 9-12; Wiley 1977, p. 220).

Students in junior high school seem to accept general and abstract statements about the civil rights of minorities. However, they appear to reject the application of these principles to certain persons (Patrick 1977, p. 201; Wiley 1977, p. 250). For example, most would deny unpopular minorities the right of free speech (Patrick 1977, p. 201). Only slightly more than half of 13-year-olds would allow a newspaper or magazine the right "to publish something that criticizes an elected government official." Fewer than half would allow an atheist to hold public office (NAEP 1978b, pp. 30-31).

Youngsters between ages 11 and 13 do show a marked movement away from the more absolutistic, either/or style of thinking associated with childhood. Thus, there is greater potential for open-mindedness about the beliefs of others (Patrick 1977, p. 200). Given the above-cited findings indicating some intolerance with values very different from their own, teachers might well strive to take advantage of the preadolescent's potential receptivity to alternative perspectives and attitudes.

In summary, early adolescents express general acceptance of democratic values and attitudes but they are not always willing to apply these values to specific instances involving unpopular or despised minority groups or individuals. Nevertheless, the age period 11 to 14 is a prime time to foster receptivity to alternative perspectives and attitudes.

Learner Variables and Student Achievement

Student achievement of knowledge and skills varies with socioeconomic status and race. Those of higher socioeconomic status tend to be higher achievers, and white students tend to be higher achievers than black students (Wiley 1977, pp. 202, 221-222).

Exposure to subject matter in school is also related strongly to student achievement. Those who spend more time on tasks are more likely to attain instructional objectives (Wiley 1977, pp. 220, 224).

Need for More Data

Several dimensions of student achievement in the social studies have been neglected in the research. Data about cognitive skills are scarce, and almost no data about group participation skills are available. We also need data about concept learning; most of our findings about students' knowledge relate to specific pieces of information. In addition, we need to find out about students' comprehension of basic ideas which structure major bodies of knowledge.

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SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL STUDIES

By Mary Vann Eslinger

More than 2 million high school students sit in yearlong (58 percent) or semester-length (32 percent) courses in American history, world history, American government, or sociology. Nearly three-fourths of social studies students are in homogeneously grouped classes; these classes are larger than mathematics and science classes. Students spend more than half their time in social studies classes in whole-group activities (Weiss 1978, pp. 54-67, 110-111).

Students are not likely to use any NSF-funded curriculum materials in social studies (Weiss 1978, pp. 77-78), but their chances of using such materials improve if they happen to live in a medium-sized school district with a high per-pupil expenditure in a small city or suburb in the northeast (Weiss 1978, p. 81).

Students have a 50 percent chance of being in a social studies class which uses a single social studies text; only one-third of high school social studies students will use more than one text (Weiss 1978, pp. 88-89). Students stand a 40 percent chance of listening to the teacher lecture at least once a week, and a quarter of them will hear a lecture nearly every day (Weiss 1978, pp. 104-106).

This information provides the context for the body of this paper--an exploration of the attitudes of high school students toward social studies.

Student Interest and Motivation

Four-fifths of the high school social studies teachers in the RTI survey reported student lack of interest in social studies as a "serious problem" or "somewhat a problem." Ninety percent of those teachers reported that lack of reading ability was a "serious problem" or "somewhat a problem" (Weiss 1978, p. B130). Social studies teachers in the Illinois case studies indicated that many students are unmotivated:

> My biggest complaint about teaching is the frustration thing. It comes from motivation. I don't know if it's me or them. I don't understand why kids are not more motivated (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:24).

Lack of student motivation may have become the most common professional topic in teachers' lounges (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:8):

> They're dead now. Withdrawn.
>
> In the last two or three years, there's a lot less enthusiasm.
>
> You try to get them involved in the problem, and I can't get them involved anymore. They just sit there. I ask them a question--a very simple question--and I can't get anybody to answer (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:23).

And finally, this:

> Teacher: How many heard the Ford-Carter debates last night?
> Student: I watched 'em come on and go off and slept during the rest.
> Student: Boring.
> Student: The best part was when the sound went off.
> Teacher: Don't you think there's much to be said for enlightened citizenry?
> Student: I don't want to know that bad.
>
> (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:46).

But a student countered with:

> Teachers who complain about us watching TV and liking it and not liking school make me laugh. I mean, do they ever really look at themselves? It's hard here--for them and us. It (school) is mostly no fun. Teachers know it. They'd have to be blind not to. I guess mostly we're talking about a few teachers who can't see social studies on TV when it's there every night . . . more social studies than in any book they got (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:118).

One articulate student put it this way: The "school is clinging to a day gone by, and we are living one not quite here" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:119).

Importance of Social Studies

Whatever their feelings about each other, teachers and students agree on the primary importance of grades (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:18; Fernandez, Massey, and Dornbusch 1975, p. 53). If a class is perceived as an "easy grade," less-motivated students enroll in it in disproportionate numbers (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:42). Some agree that grades are more important than actual learning, though the "jury is still out" on this point (Fernandez, Massey, and Dornbusch 1975, p. 53; Wiley 1977, p. 204).

Students generally agree that social studies is less important for their occupational future than either English or mathematics (Fernandez, Massey, and Dornbusch 1975, p. 53; Wiley 1977, p. 204; Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:4). Yet only 9 percent of the students in the CSSE survey of "what's most wrong with social studies" chose "courses were impractical" as their major criticism (compared to 7 percent for science and 12 percent for mathematics) (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:27). Educators' claims of the need for "relevance" may well be lost on students: practicality is less important, apparently, than interest in assessing the quality of courses in social studies, mathematics, and science (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:27).

For years social studies educators have believed that students dislike social studies, condemning its "dullness, uselessness, excessive memorization of names, dates, events" (Wiley 1977, p. 203). In the CSSE survey, 27 percent of the students believed social studies courses were "boring" and 40 percent agreed that they "overemphasize facts and memorization" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:27). Yet when asked what is most "right" with social studies, 50 percent of the students agreed that social studies courses are interesting, and 27 percent noted that social studies stressed basic facts (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:27).

Evaluations of Social Studies Programs

Students were asked the "What's most right" and "What's most wrong" questions for science and mathematics as well as for social studies. Comparisons of their responses are instructive:

> In response to the "What's most right" questions,
>
> 50 percent said social studies courses are "interesting."
> 20 percent said science courses are "interesting."
> 12 percent said mathematics courses are "interesting."

28 percent said social studies "stressed basic facts."
22 percent made the same claim for science courses.
40 percent chose this response for mathematics.

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:27).

In response to the "What's most wrong" questions,

27 percent said social studies courses were "boring."
31 percent chose "boring" for mathematics.
29 percent marked "boring" for science.

40 percent said there was "overemphasis of facts and memorization" in social studies.
24 percent applied this criticism to science.
13 percent chose this response for mathematics.

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:27)

When asked to rate the overall quality of science, math, and social studies courses, 58 percent of high school seniors ranked the program in social studies as "excellent" or "very good." Nearly half gave the same evaluation to science, while 68 percent gave those evaluations to the mathematics program (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 18:92-93). The ratings of parents and teachers are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

PARENT AND TEACHER RATINGS OF SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAMS

	Percent Rating Program as "Excellent" or "Very Good"	
	Teachers (n = x)	Parents (n = 120)
Science	72	32
Mathematics	68	43
Social Studies	52	43

(Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 18:92-93)

Interestingly, students' responses to this question appeared to be more nearly in agreement with their teachers' responses than with those of their parents.

In response to a question on the overall quality of their education, responses of students, their teachers, and their parents were quite mixed, as displayed in Table 2.

Table 2

RATINGS OF OVERALL QUALITY OF EDUCATION TODAY

	Teachers (%) (n = 168)	Students (%) (n = 234)	Parents (%) (n = 123)
Quite Satisfied	13	3	7
Mixed Feelings	50	68	54
Quite Dissatisfied	33	28	39
I Don't Know	5	2	0
Other	0	0	0

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:94)

Teachers and parents in this instance were apparently more nearly in agreement with each other than with the students.

Perceptions and beliefs about the quality of social studies programs may be affected by attitudes toward "the basics." To illustrate, teachers, parents, and students were asked to react to the following statement:

> The schools have been creating "new" courses and having students work on topics of their own choosing. As a result of these and other circumstances, the schools give too little emphasis to the basic knowledge and skills that every youngster should learn.

Table 3 shows the reactions of the three groups.

Table 3

RESPONSES TO STATEMENT ON BASICS

	Teachers (%) (n = 146)	Students (%) (n = 214)	Parents (%) (n = 129
Agree that there is too little emphasis on basics	57	42	64
Do not agree that there is too little emphasis on basics	23	35	30

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:96)

The three groups' reactions when asked if federal funds should be used to create or disseminate controversial materials (Table 4) may be linked to their attitudes toward the basics.

Table 4

ATTITUDES TOWARD USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO CREATE OR DISSEMINATE CONTROVERSIAL MATERIALS

	Teachers (%) (n = 40)	Students (%) (n = 354)	Parents (%) (n = 147)
Federal funds should never be spent on such development	9	21	33
It is all right to spend federal funds this way if it will not cause trouble	10	22	12
It is important to provide federal support for such development	59	46	29
Other	22	11	27

(Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:79)

Perceptions of the value of social studies programs, of their quality, and of what they are and should be doing may be mixed. Beliefs about declining standards in schools generally are widespread. From this confusing situation, what judgments can be made? What is the reality?

Conclusion

One reality is that evidenced in standardized and national testing programs such as the SAT and ITED tests, which focus on knowledge and skills, or the more recent NAEP and state assessment programs. Interpreting assessment results is difficult because there is little trend data of the sort produced by such tests as SAT. Achievement test scores declined markedly in the decade 1965-75; the decline was most marked in the area of social studies. Results of assessment-type tests (such as NAEP) were less marked (Wiley 1977, pp. 249-250).

Given the attitudes toward the value and quality of social studies programs reported in the OSU, RTI, and CSSE studies, and the paucity of evidence to support or refute those attitudes from NAEP and other testing programs, we are left with more questions than answers. What social studies knowledge do students have? What skill operations can they perform? We cannot answer with anything approaching certainty. What do they believe? Neither can we answer this question, though recent NAEP findings indicate that in some areas (support for the rights and freedoms of individuals, for instance), general belief in a principle may not be buttressed by support for specific, real-world applications of the principle (Wiley 1977, p. 250).

So we are left with students sitting in classes, reading books, listening more or less willingly to teachers talk. Perhaps more could be learned of students' characteristics by going outside rather than inside schools, by hearing their talk, sharing their recreations, and observing their de-institutionalized movements, for it is inside schools that young people are governed by the same bureaucratic strictures that set their teachers apart from the ordinary run of human beings.

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THE PROFESSION, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY

By Fred M. Newmann

The NSF status studies and other literature analyzed in Project SPAN point to a variety of factors influencing social studies programs in the nation's schools. These studies, however, do not conclusively demonstrate precisely how these factors affect the teaching and learning of social studies. This paper examines the effects of three important factors--the nature of the social studies profession, management and control in the schools, and community and parental values--on social studies. The references cited indicate evidence of the influence (or lack of influence) of each factor. The interpretations of the effects of these influences are those of the author.

The Nature of the Social Studies Profession

The social studies profession appears to be plagued by a crisis of legitimacy: students, parents, and other educators place relatively low value on social studies education, compared to other subjects (Weiss 1978, pp. 158-159; Wiley 1977, p. 204; Wright 1980; Gallup 1978, p. 44). This low esteem results in social studies teachers' being less satisfied than other teachers (Wright 1980) and feeling they have a special burden to justify their work (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:25), in low student interest and motivation (Wiley 1977, pp. 203-204; Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 13:26-27, 15:23; Weiss 1978, p. B130; Wright 1979, pp. 7-10; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979, pp. 12-13), and in a relative lack of emphasis on social studies.

The questionable legitimacy can be explained in at least three ways. First, because so many disciplines, topics, and approaches tend to be included in social studies, there is a lack of consensus about the critical elements of the field (Wiley 1977, p. 47; Morrissett and Haas 1982), and thus it has no clear identity. Second, in comparison to subjects like reading, math, and science, social studies has little apparent utilitarian value. We can convincingly point to adverse consequences in one's life if one can't read, write, or compute, but it is hard to imagine clear adverse consequences for the individual who fails to understand history or government. Finally, the kind of knowledge transmitted in social studies is readily available through many sources besides the trained social studies teacher. Almost anyone is considered qualified to teach social studies; frequently, coaches and teachers of other subjects are assigned to do so. One can learn social information and analysis from television, radio, magazines, books, family, and friends. The popularization of social studies knowledge has the effect of depriving the social studies teacher of special status based on scarce expertise. In this sense social studies teachers are considered less professional than lawyers, doctors, or even science and math teachers.

A defining characteristic of a professional is participation in professional organizations. There is little evidence of this quality being exhibited by teachers of social studies. Few teachers read the professional journals or attend conferences regularly (Superka 1977, pp. 120-123). Only 20 percent of high school social studies teachers found meetings of professional organizations to be very useful sources of information. These activities are, however, seen as more useful to state supervisors and curriculum coordinators (Weiss 1978, p. 152). Even those responsible for social studies curriculum coordination in school districts, however, have little contact or involvement with NCSS (Weiss 1978, p. 45).

Efforts by organizations to provide professional leadership have not had widespread effects. A recent report by NCSS, for instance, indicates that its 1971 curriculum guidelines have not been widely used as the basis for developing social studies philosophies, goals and objectives, curriculum content, or testing in the states or school districts (Moore 1980).

The various academic professional organizations, such as AHA, APSA, and ASA, have also attempted to influence the social studies curricula in high schools. These organizations were particularly active at the height of the new social studies era. While some of that activity involved direct work with teachers (e.g., in workshops), most focused on developing new curriculum materials with a social science orientation (Haas 1977; Hertzberg 1981). The level of activity in these organizations dropped markedly in the late 1970s, now focusing primarily on developing guidelines for dealing with their specialized content areas.

Organizations interested in particular topics have also recently engaged in development of guidelines (for example, ABA for law-related education, Global Perspectives in Education for global issues). It remains to be seen, however, whether any of these guidelines have greater impact on social studies classrooms than those of NCSS.

Another defining characteristic of a professional is the freedom to make autonomous, discretionary judgments in the conduct of one's work. Social studies teachers do enjoy considerable autonomy within the classroom, especially the academic freedom to teach what they consider to be most significant (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:37). This autonomy, however, is in part responsible for the lack of articulation or sequential organization of the social studies curriculum (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 13:30-31, 14:24, and 19:9). Because each teacher is considered an authority on what to teach, there is relatively little effort to coordinate and integrate teaching between grade levels. Teachers value their autonomy but complain that other teachers have not adequately prepared students for subsequent courses (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 14:30; Walker 1978, p. 141). The autonomy ethic also tends to isolate teachers from one another (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:27), creating barriers to mutual analysis of teaching style and cooperative efforts in curriculum development.

The reward structure of public school teaching offers few incentives for teachers to strive to improve the quality of service (this applies to teaching in general, not just social studies teaching). In other occupations outstanding achievement is rewarded by dramatic financial gain; collective recognition among peers (through awards and citations of merit); and increased status arising through (1) increased demand of clients for one's services, (2) promotion to a higher position which usually involves greater responsibility for subordinates, and (3) establishing a highly specialized form of expertise.

These rewards are not available to teachers. Salaries are determined by standard schedules not based on merit, there are no effective mechanisms for peer recognition of outstanding teaching, and good teaching does not result in increased client demand (school scheduling allows virtually no student choice of teachers and little variation in class size or teacher load). In order to be promoted, one must leave teaching to become an administrator, supervisor, or college professor. Because course work is rather standardized, teachers rarely gain recognition for developing highly specialized approaches to social studies. All of this tends to stifle ingenuity, effort, and pride in improving one's classroom performance (Lortie 1975). The Illinois case studies have found, for example, that while teachers tend to take pride in their work (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:23), there is little evidence of enthusiastic professional commitment to improve (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 16:12, 12:19, and 19:18).

Management and Control in the Schools

Much of what occurs in social studies classrooms derives not from knowledge of disciplined thought in the field, but from management needs. Because teachers are usually required to work with about 25 students in a class lasting about 50 minutes; because students within that class are often rather diverse with regard to academic interest and ability, socioeconomic background, physical capabilities, and emotional maturity; and because (for various reasons) most students are not highly motivated to work hard at learning, the typical high school teacher faces severe management and control problems (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 14:10-14, 17:7; Weiss 1978, pp. 66-67).

A common technique for dealing with this problem is to avoid complexity, for complexity exacerbates problems of management. Complexity is avoided in three main ways:

1. Instruction is standardized in the sense that all students within a class study the same texts, do the same assignments, and take the same tests (Patrick with Hawke 1982; Fancett and Hawke 1982). Individualizing instruction is too complicated and difficult to manage.

2. Instruction is conducted through a few general techniques, confined to the classroom: lectures, worksheets, class discussion-recitation, films, and occasional special events like debates, reports, and simulations (Fancett and Hawke 1982). Generally only one textbook is used (Patrick with Hawke 1982; Weiss 1978, p. 89). A more diverse set of strategies (multiple texts, trips, community surveys, small-group projects) increases complexity and problems of management.

3. Intellectual activity is confined to relatively low-level cognitive operations such as information retrieval, recall, and application of concepts. Because certainty facilitates control, these operations are easier to manage than those involving generalization, inference, synthesis, or evaluation. To the extent that the latter forms of intellectual work offer the possibility of controversy or lack of certainty, they are seen as more difficult to manage (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:7, 16:68).

Parental and Community Values

Considerable evidence indicates that parental and community values emphasize vocational preparation, including preparation for college, as the major purpose of education (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:24, 17:21); parents and community believe that within the school, the central task of the teacher should be to prepare the student for the next step in the ladder of preparation (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:16-17).

This emphasis probably has two kinds of effects on the teaching of social studies. First, because social studies is not viewed as critical to most occupations, students and parents will see it as not particularly important, except for those students who need to succeed in it in order to gain college admission (Gallup 1978, p. 44; Wright 1979, pp. 7-10). Second, to the extent that the subject is viewed primarily for its instrumental value as a ticket to something in the future, but not as having its own intrinsic integrity, it will be approached in a mechanical, superficial manner, soon to be forgotten.

One NSF study called particular attention to the lack of study and discussion of controversial issues in high school social studies classrooms (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 13:32, 17:23). Teachers were asked whether they felt that pressure from parents and community norms infringed on their freedom to study public controversy. Generally, teachers believe that parental and community values do not stifle in any serious way attention to controversial issues (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:28, 13:32). The study concluded that while teachers feel a high degree of academic freedom, they tend not to arouse community controversy, either because they subscribe to dominant community norms or, if they hold deviant norms, because they know how to incorporate instruction on issues raised into their programs without agitating the community (Stake and Easley 1978, 12:28-30). There is wide support among teachers, students, and parents for discussion of value issues in the classroom and for the teacher's revealing his or her personal opinions, providing that alternative viewpoints also receive fair consideration (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:36-40).

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MONEY, MANDATES, AND MANAGERS

By Douglas P. Superka

This paper focuses on three important influences on social studies--money, mandates, and managers. While these topics were not the main focus of the NSF studies, the studies do provide some valuable data on government funding, state and local laws, and supervisors and administrators. This paper reports the major findings from the NSF studies and a few other studies.

Government Funding

Significant federal funding has been used in attempts to change and improve social studies. Major funding was devoted to the development of new social studies curriculum materials, especially in the "neglected" social sciences. Materials resulting from these efforts employed new techniques--for example, simulations--and a wider range of media and student activities than traditional textbooks. Federal funding has also been used to develop and implement new approaches to inservice teacher education, particularly subject area institutes and dissemination and training workshops.

It is generally agreed that these efforts--development and training--have had some impact on the social studies curriculum. Several studies have concluded that current textbooks have been influenced by the social science orientation and other aspects of the new social studies (Fetsko 1979; FitzGerald 1979, p. 190). The RTI survey found that most superintendents agree that "federal support for curriculum development and dissemination has improved the quality of curriculum alternatives available to the schools" and that the National Science Foundation "should direct more attention toward disseminating the new curricula" and "should continue to sponsor programs to help teachers learn to implement NSF-funded curricula" (Weiss 1978, p. 77).

The new social studies movement has had both direct and indirect impact. The direct impact is seen in changed behavior of teachers who attended institutes or workshops or who are using materials developed by federally funded projects. This direct impact appears to be relatively minor. The survey of superintendents cited above showed that only 25 percent believe federally funded curriculum efforts have "greatly improved the quality of classroom instruction" (Weiss 1978, p. 77). This may be true in part because very few social studies teachers have attended NSF-sponsored institutes and workshops (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 9:22, 12:7; Weiss 1978, p. 69). In addition, the RTI survey found that selected federally funded curriculum materials are used in only 18 percent of K-3 classes, 13 percent of 4-6 and 7-9 classes, and 23 percent of 10-12 classes in schools surveyed (Weiss 1978, p. 80). In FitzGerald's words, "the New Social Studies did not sweep away the old, as so many of its advocates confidently supposed that it would" (FitzGerald 1979, p. 189).

Yet there appears to have been considerable indirect impact of the new social studies. Although a relatively small percentage of schools currently use materials developed by federally funded projects, social studies textbooks in general now draw more heavily on the "neglected" social sciences, and many incorporate at least some aspects of the "inquiry approach."

Laws

State and local district guidelines often affect social studies programs by setting certain course or time requirements, particularly at the secondary level. More than two-thirds of the states require more than one year of social studies instruction at the secondary level; only 21 percent of the states have more than a one-year requirement for math or science. Moreover, unlike the other subject areas, 83 percent of the states actually mandate one or more specific social studies courses, such as American history, American government, or state history (Weiss 1978, p. 23). Although districts and teachers are still free in most cases to determine what those courses entail, the states are clearly concerned with influencing the social studies program, even while they plan and mandate competency programs in reading, writing, and mathematics. Most states do not have or plan to have specific competency programs in social studies (Weiss 1978, p. 32; Moore 1980, pp. 20-25).

A similar pattern of requirements emanates from school districts. Nearly three-fourths of the school districts require more than one year of social studies for graduation, while only one-third have similar math and science requirements. Eighty-six percent of districts require specific courses in social studies compared to 40 percent in math and 49 percent in science. Eighty-one percent require U.S. history (Weiss 1978, pp. 25-26).

State and district guidelines for elementary social studies are not very prevalent. More than half of the states (with a fourth unknown) and more than two-thirds of districts do not have guidelines for time spent on social studies at this level. Approximately 10 percent more districts set required amounts of time for math than for social studies for their K-4 programs. The amount of time required is also significantly greater for math than for social studies in grades 1-4 (Weiss 1978, pp. 21-22). This information confirms the popular impression that social studies is not a major concern in grades K-3, while math, reading, and writing are. The actual time teachers spend on these subject areas supports this impression and is consistent with the guidelines. In fact, the discrepancy in actual time spent on math vs. social studies extends through grade 6 (Weiss 1978, pp. 50-51).

The practice of state textbook adoption has been a powerful influence on social studies programs. Thirty-three states, including such large states as California and Texas, have state adoption in social studies at elementary or secondary levels. Thus, "[o]ver 40 percent of the students in the country go to school in 'adoption territory'" (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 23). This practice has the obvious effect of either determining the specific materials to be used in social studies classrooms or restricting the range of possible choices. In addition, big textbook adoption states have had an enormous impact on publishers, strongly influencing the content and format of texts (FitzGerald 1979, pp. 33-34).

States also have other laws that influence social studies in the schools. In some instances, particular topics have been mandated by state law. Free enterprise and citizenship are two topics a number of states are mandating. For many years, Florida mandated a course in Americanism vs. Communism. Districts are usually allowed to determine how they will comply with these mandates.

Certain state and federal laws affect the schools generally and thus indirectly affect social studies instruction, as the following passages illustrate:

> Federal legislation, such as the sweeping new provisions for education of handicapped children (PL 94-142), and state programs appeared to greatly increase the administrative burden in school districts. (We noted it particularly in VORTEX and WESTERN CITY.) Public opposition to school costs fixed sometimes on the total salary costs for administrators (as it did in FALL RIVER), but demands created by new legislation pressed the district to continue to expand its staff. High management skills were needed for properly interpreting the regulations. The demands not only added to the expense, they redirect attention of almost all administrators from pedagogical matters to management matters (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:15).

The Far West Laboratory school change report describes the influence of federal laws on science education, including social studies:

> Some federal laws affect the needs or resources of districts, while others directly affect curriculum development and dissemination.
>
> By bringing students with diverse cultural and educational backgrounds into formerly homogeneous schools, desegregation has affected those schools' curriculum needs. Some districts have desegregated in response to federal court orders, while others have taken voluntary action in the wake of such decisions as Brown v. Board of Education. In either case, a constitutional issue has had indirect effects on the curriculum. For example, the problems of teaching children of widely ranging achievement levels in newly desegregated classrooms have helped promote the reform of mathematics and curricula by increasing the tendency to use individualized materials. And with an increased sensitivity to the way minority groups are portrayed in curriculum materials, many districts are setting up new screening procedures.
>
> While the federal judiciary has been altering the clientele of some schools, the Congress has provided new resources for many schools. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, for instance, has added considerably to the money districts can spend on "educationally deprived" students in low income areas. The availability of Title I funds has stimulated something of a boom in compensatory-education materials. Other programs of categorical funding have operated on a smaller scale but have also contributed to various

> specialized markets for educational materials. A problem that sometimes arises in districts with special-purpose federal money is that only certain personnel can be trained with this money: thus a broad program of staff development to accompany a new curriculum might have to be partly funded by the district itself (Sikorski et al. 1976, pp. 26-27).

Another problem is that districts, in order to maintain the extra level of funding obtained through categorical programs, have committed themselves to those areas which provide the funding rather than addressing other needs (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:15). This problem is not common to most districts, however; only 19 percent of the school districts in the RTI survey received ESEA Title I-VII funding for social studies programs (Weiss 1978, p. 124).

Supervisors and Administrators

Various persons on the local and state level attempt to influence social studies programs within the schools. The building principal may play a crucial, if subtle, role in the development of social studies in his or her school. Several recent innovation studies point to the principal as a key to successful innovation (e.g., Superka 1977). By controlling the building budgets, the principal certainly affects all instructional programs in the school.

More specifically, most principals feel qualified to supervise social studies, and in about half of the districts and schools in the RTI survey the principals were heavily involved in the textbook selection process. Often this involves selecting and chairing the textbook committee. District program respondents, however, indicated that the principal's heavy involvement in the social studies text selection process was more extensive on the elementary (50 percent) than the secondary level (29 percent) (Weiss 1978, p. B54-55). Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the principal's role in social studies is larger and more direct in the 52 percent of junior high schools and 20 percent of senior high schools with no department chairperson (Weiss 1978, p. 48).

While department chairpersons may play a significant role in most senior high schools, other persons within the district probably do not.

Most districts (63 percent in the RTI sample) do not have district-level curriculum supervisors (Weiss 1978, p. 36). Where supervisors are in place, their impact is mitigated by their heavy workloads and teachers' distrust of them as central office paper-pushers (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 16:40, 48; 18:16; 19:16). Superintendents and school boards do not appear to play a strong, direct role in the social studies program. Certainly, they are not involved extensively in the textbook selection process (Weiss 1978, p. B48, B49, B54-55). School boards may, however, exercise veto power if one or more teachers stir a community crisis over some controversial issue like homosexuality.

Outside the school district, it is the state social studies supervisor who most frequently attempts to affect programs. More than half of the states (56 percent) have a supervisor who spends more than 75 percent time on social studies (Weiss 1978, p. 34). Most other states have persons who share that coordination task with one or more other curriculum areas. A significant regional difference exists. While 80 percent of the southern states have social studies specialists, only 38 percent of the northeastern and 18 percent of the western states do (Weiss 1978, p. 34). More than two-thirds of the state supervisors report that they spend a moderate or large amount of their time planning and developing curricula, working with district personnel, and providing and coordinating inservice programs (Weiss 1978, p. B1).

The impact of this activity is difficult to assess. Very few teachers, principals, and district program respondents in the RTI survey felt that state supervisors were very useful sources of information (Weiss 1978, pp. 150-153). The case study data support and extend this negative impression of state supervisors by district personnel (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979, p. 16). While our professional experience indicates that some state supervisors have very active and positive influences on district social studies programs, the NSF studies show that this is the exception rather than the rule.

Conclusion

The teacher, along with the curriculum materials he or she employs, is the most powerful influence on a school's social studies program.

All the forces attempting to affect social studies must ultimately be channeled through the social studies teacher--working alone in the classroom, relatively free to do what he or she wishes. The state or district can develop all the general guidelines and syllabi it wants, but the specifics of instruction are up to the teacher. Curriculum supervisors can establish inservice training programs or even encourage teachers to adopt a certain text. Even other teachers, who are the most important source of educational information for social studies teachers, can urge a particular course of action. But the individual teacher will decide what actually occurs with his or her students in the classroom (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:37, 16:27; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979, p. 6).

As Stake concluded from the case studies:

> What [social] science education will be for any one child for any one year is most dependent on what that child's teacher believes, knows, and does--and doesn't believe, doesn't know, and doesn't do. For essentially all of the [social] science learned in school, the teacher is the enabler, the inspiration, and the constraint (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:2).

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EDUCATIONAL CHANGE PROCESSES IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By Bruce Tipple

The process of changing educational programs is extremely complex. Many have raised the issue of whether individuals or entire social systems undergo change. Although a great deal of research has been done on innovation and change in social institutions, the Illinois case studies and other sources in the SPAN data base indicate that individual teachers are very crucial elements in the implementation of curriculum change. The degree to which the teacher is in control of curriculum as it is implemented in the classroom is illustrated in the following excerpt from one of the Illinois case studies:

> What takes place in the classroom is the province of the individual teacher. The building administrators occasionally observe and evaluate, but teachers rarely intrude on one another. If a teacher chooses to lecture, run discussion groups, or confine himself to showing films, an unwritten rule seems to hold that others will say nothing about it. Curriculum--the coverage of a single course or the relationship among courses--is discussed and agreed upon in informal department meetings. Incursion into this system by central administrators or committees is likely to be resented, sabotaged, or passively "waited out" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:5).

Unfortunately, few, if any, of the processes employed to change the social studies have stressed the central role of the teacher in implementing such change.

This paper addresses three major processes through which social studies curriculum change has been promoted: curriculum development, information dissemination, and teacher training.

Curriculum Development

The curriculum development movement began in the late 1950s and early 1960s and was marked by the widespread use of federal funds. The Far West Laboratory identified two commonly followed models employed in curriculum development (Sikorski et al. 1976).

The first model is the research-development-dissemination-adoption (RDDA) model shown in Figure 1. This was the model most commonly

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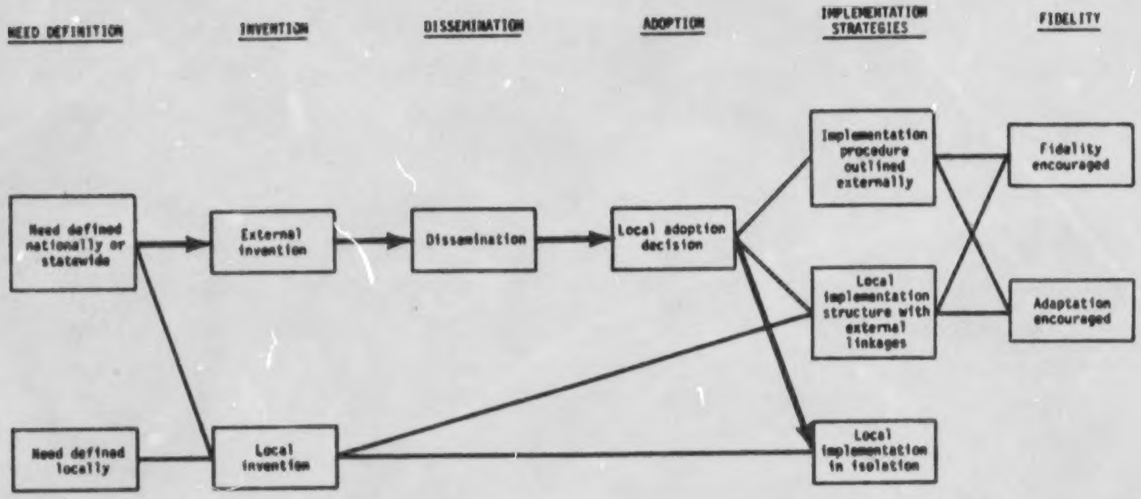
Figure 1

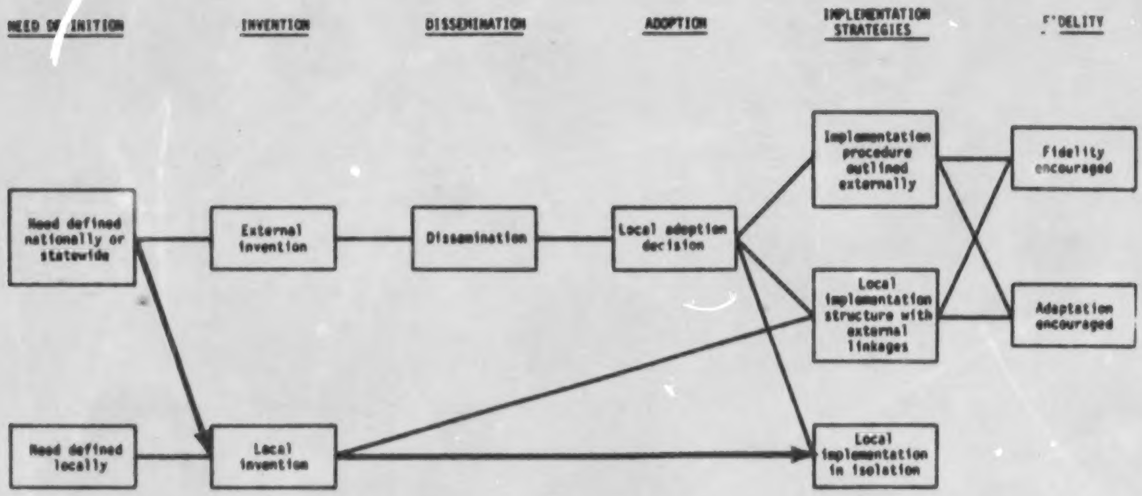
THE RDDA APPROACH


NEED DEFINITION
INVENTION
DISSEMINATION
ADOPTION
IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES
FIDELITY
Need defined nationally or statewide
External invention
Dissemination
Local adoption decision
Implementation procedure outlined externally
Local implementation structure with external linkages
Local implementation in isolation
Fidelity encouraged
Adaptation encouraged
Need defined locally
Local invention

(Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 6)

Figure 2

THE SEED-MONEY APPROACH


NEED DEFINITION
INVENTION
DISSEMINATION
ADOPTION
IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES
FIDELITY
Need defined nationally or statewide
External invention
Dissemination
Local adoption decision
Implementation procedure outlined externally
Local implementation structure with external linkages
Local implementation in isolation
Fidelity encouraged
Adaptation encouraged
Need defined locally
Local invention

(Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 8)

followed by the major social science curriculum development projects. It is also used now by many commercial publishers in their textbook development efforts. Its major drawback is the almost total lack of attention to implementation strategies. Later curriculum project efforts were, however, developed to promote successful implementation, including resource personnel workshops and cooperative efforts between colleges and school districts. These efforts are discussed more fully in the section on teacher training.

The centralized development projects were not the only curriculum development efforts undertaken with federal funds. A "seed money" approach was employed by such agencies as Title III (later IV-C), Title IX Ethnic Heritage Studies, Environmental Education, Women's Educational Equity, and Teacher Corps. This approach is described in Figure 2.

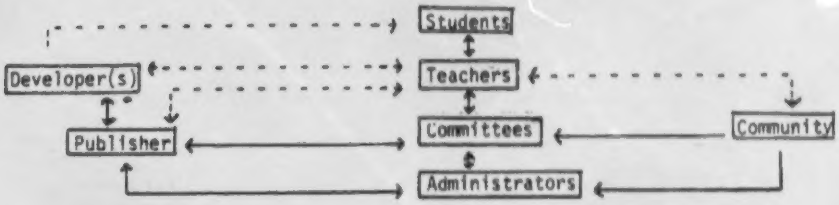
This approach tended to ignore implementation strategies as well. Furthermore, the emphasis on local invention probably contributed to a growing trend toward fragmentation in social studies curricula. One major advantage of the seed money approach is the sense of involvement the local staff feels because of its participation in development efforts (Sikorski et al 1976, pp. 9-10).

Another type of curriculum development deserves mention. Many individual classroom teachers feel the need to develop materials specially for use with their classes. Such development may result in curriculum units, student contracts, learning packages, worksheets, and many other materials. It appears that such small-scale development is common. It is impossible, however, to clearly describe the impact of such development.

How have materials developed by projects and publishers worked their way into the schools? The process generally followed is outlined in Figure 3.

Figure 3

THE ADOPTION PROCESS



——— denotes direct contact
- - - - denotes indirect contact

Committees and/or administrators most commonly make adoption decisions. Teacher committees and individual teachers are the groups most "heavily involved" in the social studies textbook selection process. Based on the perceptions of the district program respondents in the RTI survey, these two groups are "heavily involved" in the text selection process at the secondary level in two-thirds of the districts. At the elementary level, 83 percent of the districts had teacher committees who were "heavily involved"; in 61 percent of the districts, individual elementary teachers were "heavily involved" in choosing their social studies texts. Principals appear to be "heavily involved" in text selection in between one-third to one-half of districts and schools, with elementary principals most commonly involved (Weiss 1978, pp. B48, B49, B54-55).

The community, however, also affects selection decisions, at least passively, in that decisions are based on how decision makers read community feelings. Community members sometimes serve on adoption committees, and parents frequently challenge the committee's selections.

The textbook adoption process ensures continual change in curriculum materials produced by commercial publishers. Adoption cycles dictate textbook revision every four or five years. Although only about half of the states have state adoption of elementary texts and slightly fewer have secondary adoption, publishers pay close attention to the deliberations of the adoption committees (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 23). Practices and guidelines vary greatly from state to state. The system, in FitzGerald's words, "is less than democratic, because it is biased toward the large adoption units--the large adoption states and the big-city school districts--and particularly biased toward the ones that make a narrow selection of books . . . Not only the largest states but combinations of smaller ones have often exerted an influence disproportionate to the size of their school population" (FitzGerald 1979, pp. 33-34).

Information Dissemination

Information dissemination is an important element in promoting curriculum change. Its importance is illustrated by the RTI survey's finding that "obtaining information about instructional materials" is one of the two areas in which half of the secondary social studies teachers said they did not receive adequate assistance (Weiss 1978, pp. B113, B116).

Dissemination mechanisms range from informal conversations with colleagues to complex information systems such as ERIC. Personal contact with other teachers seems to be the most widely used and preferred mode of information dissemination among teachers. The RTI survey found that 42 to 44 percent of social studies teachers in grades 4-12 think other teachers are "very useful" sources of information about new developments in education; 58 percent of K-3 teachers rated other teachers as "very useful" sources of information (Weiss 1978, pp. 150-153). On the other hand, secondary social studies teachers did not rate principals, district personnel, state supervisors, publishers, or sales representatives as "very useful" sources of information.

Other dissemination techniques include products such as the SSEC Data Book of Social Studies Materials and Resources, newsletters and journals, and bibliographies. Journals and publishers' representatives were seen as major sources of information on federally funded curriculum materials by state and district supervisors, but not by classroom teachers (Weiss 1978, pp. 72-73).

Supervisors, programs employing field agents, conferences, workshops, demonstration sites, textbook adoption panels, and teacher centers also facilitate dissemination.

Teacher Training

Teacher-training programs seek to affect the teacher's behavior directly. Such programs fall into the two general categories of preservice and inservice training. The Far West Lab report found that "preservice education provides a broad training experience, but it is felt to have limited effectiveness for curriculum change" (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 75). This is true, in part, because new teachers entering the educational system have only minor influence. Furthermore, very little is known about the quality of preservice teacher education. Just as most social studies teachers are not active members of NCSS, most teacher educators are not either. What do we know about how they view social studies, how they "prepare" teachers, or what they consider to be a good teacher? How can we expect to see a change in social studies in the classroom if teachers are being trained to see it as history, geography, and civics? Do those trainers, indeed, see it that way?

Inservice training appears to have a greater impact on social studies curriculum change. Such training may be general in nature or curriculum-specific. General inservice programs include graduate-level courses, inservice sessions focusing on techniques--for example, communications skills, human relations, and community involvement--and subject matter institutes. According to a study by Perloff, "early programs (NDEA summer institutes) for updating or expanding the teachers' knowledge base in a broad subject area (e.g., history, math, French, or political science) have . . . produced minimal carry-over into the classroom" (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 73). Several questions may, however, be raised about how such carry-over is measured; certainly, application of general knowledge and techniques is much more difficult to measure than is the use of a particular set of curriculum materials.

Curriculum-specific training, on the other hand, appears to be effective in leading to changes in classroom behavior. A good deal of evidence indicates that practical, concrete training is most highly valued by teachers (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 73). Information from the Illinois case studies shows that what teachers want in the way of help is the chance to talk to other teachers to collect various "gimmicks" to incorporate into their current approaches (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:5).

Training designed to help teachers implement a particular curriculum package fits into this practical, concrete category. Such training may occur in school district inservice programs, cooperative programs between schools and colleges, summer workshops, and resource personnel workshops. A prime question regarding curriculum-specific training is whether its long-term effects are as beneficial as its immediate effects.

The impact of federally funded training efforts is very difficult to judge. Studies of teachers who have attended NSF-sponsored workshops seem to indicate that such workshops have been effective in changing teacher behavior (Sikorski et al. 1976, p. 73). The number of social studies teachers who have attended such programs, however, is very small.

Only 5 percent of 10-12 social studies teachers have attended NSF-sponsored institutes or workshops, but more principals (25 percent, grades 10-12) and district supervisors (21 percent, grades 7-12) have participated in such programs. The majority of state social studies supervisors (60 percent) have attended at least one such program. Social studies teachers are much less likely to have participated in federally funded training programs than are science or math teachers (Weiss 1978, pp. 69-70).

Not only are social studies teachers unlikely to have participated in federally funded training programs, they also tend to perceive inservice programs negatively. Only one-fifth to one-third of social studies teachers rated the following as very useful: college courses, inservice programs, federally sponsored workshops, and meetings of professional organizations (Weiss 1978, p. B15).

A major reason for such negative attitudes may well be that inservice programs do not focus on those problems which teachers see as most acute. Teachers see the following problems as most serious: student apathy, student reading abilities, and lack of materials to individualize learning (Weiss 1978, p. B129-131). Yet social studies training programs do not generally focus on such problems as discipline or reading; instead, they tend to concentrate on inquiry strategies and structures of the disciplines. Less than half of teachers see a need for training in these areas (Weiss 1978, pp. B113, B146). Furthermore, teachers are generally suspicious of inquiry and other innovations (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:7).

Conclusion

Many people have concluded that nothing really changed as a result of the curriculum efforts of the 1960s and 1970s. This brief analysis of change strategies, however, shows that some modest changes and improvements did occur. Two new curriculum development approaches were developed and utilized--RDDA and seed money. These approaches, especially the first, in turn, had some effect on commercial publishers and the processes they use in producing textbook programs. Inservice training specifically focused on new materials and strategies also had some modest effect on social studies teachers. These efforts, however, were not extensive and their nationwide impact was minimal. Finally, information dissemination techniques such as journals and conferences have been important sources of information for state and local supervisors, even though they have not had a large impact on social studies teachers.

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SECTION II:
ALTERNATIVES FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

A SOCIAL ROLES APPROACH TO SOCIAL STUDIES

By Douglas P. Superka and Sharryl Hawke

Project SPAN has outlined six major problems that social studies educators need to address in the 1980s and a series of desired states and recommendations for improving social studies in the next decade. Since those statements are broad guidelines for improving the field, a number of different approaches to social studies could be advocated to implement those recommendations and achieve those desired states.

This section offers one possible focus for social studies that we believe can solve the six problems and move social studies toward the desired states. This focus, called "social roles," is described and explained below. Also included is a brief justification for this focus and an explanation of how it can help alleviate the six problems and achieve the desired states. In another volume, the social-roles approach has been elaborated further, with illustrative applications to the K-12 curriculum (Superka and Hawke 1982). While our ultimate goal is the improvement of social studies education for students, our more immediate objective in presenting this approach is to stimulate professional inquiry and debate.

Seven Social Roles

How can social studies contribute more fully to the development of knowledgeable and effective participants in our society? One way would be to focus content and instruction more directly on how most people participate in that society--how they spend their time and where they put their energy. Most people's social lives can be described by seven major roles: citizen, worker, consumer, family member, friend, member of various social groups, and self. Social studies can help young people understand, value, and function creatively and competently in these social roles--thereby helping them become effective individuals and effective participants in our society.

The term "role" has been defined by sociologists and psychologists in various ways. There is general agreement that the term refers to a set of organized meanings and values that direct a person's actions in a

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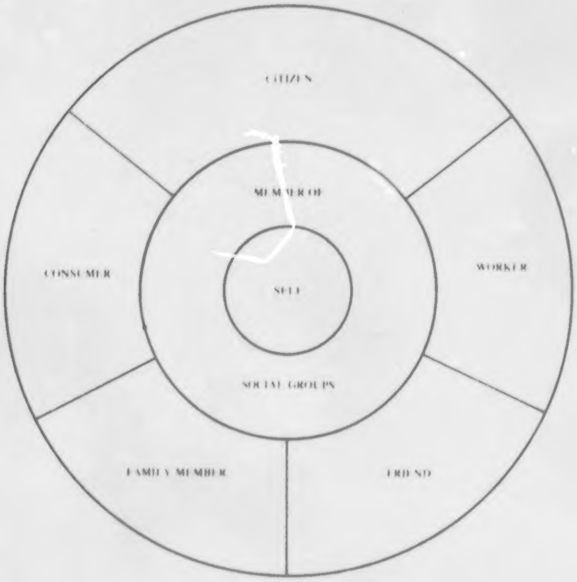
given situation or in the performance of a given function (Kitchens and Muessig 1980, p. 11; Rose 1965, p. 45). Most anthropologists and sociologists add that these roles are usually ascribed to people by their society or culture. Some emphasize the interactive nature of this process, stressing that individuals still can exercise choice in defining and implementing their roles within the society (e.g., Blumer 1970). The term role is used here in roughly this manner. Particular attention is directed to situations (especially sets of relationships) and functions implied by a role.

Each of the seven roles defines an important area of social life in which nearly all persons participate and implies a specific set of relationships and functions. While each role defines a distinct set of relationships and functions, all seven roles are interrelated. A method of illustrating the interrelationships between and among the seven social roles is depicted in Figure 1. Social studies programs can highlight both the distinctiveness of and the interrelationships among the seven social roles.

This section explains and illustrates the nature of these social roles and their interrelationships and clarifies the valuable contributions that social studies can make to education for the social roles.

Figure 1

THE SEVEN SOCIAL ROLES



These social roles can serve as a useful framework for determining what to teach in social studies and why. Social roles, in combination with knowledge about student development, can also provide a concrete basis for organizing curriculum content and learning activities in social studies.

The idea of a social-roles focus is not completely new in education, although these seven roles are somewhat different from previous formulations. A similar theme can be found in the "seven cardinal principles" of the 1918 National Education Association report, which included worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of literature, and ethical character (Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education 1918). More recently, two social studies educators have proposed an emphasis on "lifelong roles"--citizenship, family membership, occupation, avocation, and personal efficacy--for elementary social studies (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1979, pp. 5-6).

Citizen

Citizenship education has been considered the central goal of social studies for at least the past century (Hertzberg 1981). Within the context of the recent resurgence of interest in the topic, citizenship has been called the "primary, overriding purpose" (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, pp. 67-68), the "centering concept" (Shaver 1977, p. 115), and the "ultimate justification" (Remy 1978, p. 41) of social studies. The revised NCSS curriculum guidelines, state frameworks, district curriculum guides, and textbooks reflect this orientation.

Despite widespread agreement about citizenship's centrality and importance to social studies, there is little agreement about the meaning of the term, the nature and scope of the citizen role, or the major focus of citizenship education efforts (Meyer 1979, pp. 11-19). While some educators have stressed patriotism and loyalty, others have emphasized problem solving and social criticism. Some definitions of citizenship encompass nearly all areas of social life, while others are restricted to the political arena. Nearly everyone, however, agrees that the development of responsible participating citizens is a key to preserving and improving our democratic society.

The citizen role as defined in this paper is focused on the relationships between individuals and political entities (for example, the state, governmental agencies, and political organizations) and organized efforts to influence public policy. On the basis of this conception, the citizen role includes a wide range of important activities: voting, obeying just laws, challenging unjust laws, paying taxes, serving in the armed forces, participating in political parties, studying public issues, advocating positions on public policy questions (either individually or in groups), working for volunteer organizations, and holding public office. Citizens engage in these activities in a variety of settings and at several levels, including the neighborhood, community, city, state, region, nation, and world, with the specific nature of the citizen's activities differing at the different levels. Many of the activities performed at the city, state, and national levels are directly related to governmental institutions, while those at the neighborhood, region, and world levels are not.

In relation to all levels of the citizen role, social studies has a major and unique contribution to make. Although other subject areas and aspects of school share some responsibility for citizen education, social studies is primarily responsible for providing opportunities for students to learn the basic knowledge, skills, and values needed to understand and participate effectively in the U.S. political system and to analyze and help resolve public issues.

Exactly what is meant by education for the citizen role? Within history, political science, economics, and other subject disciplines, educators must not only identify topics or concepts related to the citizen role but also determine which of these are most directly related to or essential to that role. Since history occupies a major place in the social studies curriculum, the contributions of history to the role of citizen as well as other roles must be examined. At the classroom level, for example, a high school teacher may have to decide what aspects of the "Civil War and Reconstruction" are most important for senior-high students to learn in order to be informed citizens. At the district level, administrators might need to decide whether U.S. history is the best course for ten-year-olds.

Such questions do not mean that history should be considered unimportant. It does mean that history and the other disciplines should be examined to determine what knowledge and skills can contribute most to education for citizenship. These kinds of decisions will have to be made if room is to be found in the increasingly crowded social studies curriculum for teaching about the other important social roles. Young people and adults spend more than 90 percent of their waking time in these other roles; social studies in the 1980s must make a bigger contribution to these aspects of their lives.

Worker

The worker role, unlike the citizen role, is not generally perceived by social studies educators as being central to their field. Although some educators have supported the "infusion" of career awareness into social studies instruction (e.g., Taylor et al. 1977; National Council for the Social Studies 1975), many teachers have viewed career education as an encroachment on the legitimate domain of social studies.

Social studies educators cannot ignore the fact that productive work is an important aspect of most people's lives. A consistent finding of the various secondary education commissions of the 1970s was that education had failed to establish a meaningful relationship between school and work in our society (National Task Force for High School Reform 1975; National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education 1973; Panel on Youth, President's Science Advisory Committee 1974). Work is an important part of many students' lives, even before they leave high school; a recent study reported that "at some given time during the school year, about 50 percent of all high school juniors and seniors and about 30 percent of all 9th- and 10th-graders are employed" (Cole 1980, pp. 44-46). And, of course, most students will spend the majority of their adult lives as paid employees. Thus, the worker role has both immediate and future relevance to elementary and secondary students.

What can social studies' contribution be to this role? Social studies has an auxiliary, not primary, responsibility in this area. The major responsibility must and should rest with career education specialists, guidance counselors, language arts, and mathematics teachers. These areas are proper ones to focus on knowledge about careers and on occupation-related skills such as identifying information related to job openings, preparing job applications, interviewing for jobs, and performing basic computation and communication skills. Social studies can reinforce these efforts. Social studies also shares with other areas of school and society some responsibility for developing decision-making skills and constructive attitudes toward work.

In addition to these shared responsibilities, social studies has the following special functions: to provide students with awareness of careers directly related to the social sciences (for example, urban planner, sociologist, government administrator, and business economist); to help students reflect on their worker-related experiences (for example, analyzing interpersonal relationships and conflicts on the job); to provide students with knowledge that will place in historical and social perspective the role of the worker in U.S. society and the world (for example, knowledge about labor unions, immigration and employment, women in the labor force, and the impact of war on jobs); and to help students analyze and discuss the interrelationships between the worker role and the other social roles (for example, the conflicts that often arise between being a responsible member of the family and a conscientious worker).

Drawing on valid knowledge from economics, history, sociology, and other social sciences, social studies can make an important contribution to education related to the role of the worker.

Consumer

While not all people are workers or active citizens, everyone in our society is a consumer. The role of consumer is to buy and use the goods and services produced by workers. These goods and services include natural resources (water, wood, oil, and gas), manufactured products (food, drugs, bicycles, and cars), information (print and other media), business services (banking, insurance, and real estate), and social services (education, medicine, recreation, and welfare). The consumer role includes being a good planner, shopper, and protector of these goods and services and an effective money manager. Being a wise and competent consumer in our modern complex society will continue to be a major challenge in the 1980s and beyond.

The consumer role is sometimes perceived as an economic activity in which persons engage solely for their own individual benefit. The problems related to using energy and other environmental resources have demonstrated that the consumer role also has significant collective and societal dimensions. Buying a small car instead of a large one, for example, may be a long-term money saver for an individual. It may also be a more environmentally sound and socially responsible decision.

Social studies' major contribution to the role of consumer can be to help students understand this role in the context of our national economic, political, and social systems and to appreciate the global interdependence of consumers. Meeting these goals for consumer-role education suggests such topics as consumer law, supply and demand, consumer protection, inflation, money and credit, boycotts, energy, the environment, multinational corporations, and international trade. It also calls for teaching about interrelationships between the consumer role and the other social roles.

Providing historical, economic, and political perspectives for the consumer role is another unique function of social studies. The emphasis should be on supplying students with the conceptual tools they can use to adapt to future changes rather than on providing technical skills that may be obsolete in ten years. A tennis instructor can help students make a wise decision about which tennis racquet to buy. A driver's education instructor can teach students what to look for in buying a car. A home economics teacher can help students become aware of the advantages and disadvantages of generic groceries. While social studies can make some contributions at that level, it should focus primarily on providing a larger view.

Social studies shares with other subject areas responsibility for some aspects of consumer education. Critical television viewing, for example, is a topic of interest in both social studies and language arts. As language arts concentrates on analyzing programs for literary quality and program elements, social studies can help students detect bias and stereotyping in both programming and advertisements by drawing on knowledge and skills from psychology and social psychology. Similarly, social studies and science share responsibility for helping students function effectively and intelligently as consumers of natural resources, especially in regard to such science-related issues as energy, acid rain, and recombinant DNA. The partnership between social studies and other subject areas in preparing students for the consumer role can be one of the most vital developments of the 1980s.

Family Member

Most demographers predict that the 1980s will not be an easy, stable time for families in the United States. Divorce rates will probably continue to rise, birth rates will remain low, more women will join the paid labor force, more children will live with only one parent, and more couples will decide not to have children. Despite these stresses, strains, and changes, most experts believe that the American family will adapt and survive. Because of these stresses, strains, and changes, young people will need all the help they can get to understand and function in their roles as family members.

Traditionally, the family has been defined as a group of people related by birth, marriage, or adoption who live together for the primary purposes of procreation and child rearing. It can also include alternative family styles--for example, a married couple living together without children--and such extended-family relationships as those between emancipated adults and their elderly parents. Family roles include mother, father, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, and sister; also grandchild, grandparent, mother-in-law, and still others. Everyone functions in two or more family roles, often in two or more simultaneously. The nature of each of these roles changes dramatically over the course of a person's life. Societal trends add another element of change.

Social studies programs can and should make an important contribution to helping young people understand and function in their present and future roles as family members. Obviously, social studies cannot and should not be totally responsible for producing "good family members"; a young person's own family will certainly be the major influence. However, by drawing on knowledge from sociology, psychology, anthropology, and history, social studies can help students better understand and deal with parent-child relationships, sibling relationships, the rights and responsibilities of parents and children, changing family roles, the family as an institution, the future of the family, the diverse types of families in the United States and throughout the world, and marriage and courtship.

At present, the family is a specific focus of social studies only in the primary grades (especially grade 1) and in the 12th grade, as part of a sociology or family life elective; in other grades it is virtually ignored, despite the importance of family to the lives of early adolescents. The role of family member should have a more prominent place in K-12 social studies programs.

Friend

No social studies teacher, especially at the junior and senior high levels, has to be reminded that "friends" are one of the most important dimensions of students' lives. A recent study of teenage sexuality confirmed the importance of friendships in the lives of 15- to 18-year-olds ("Sex Rated Below Friends, School, and Sports" 1979). Younger students also value friendship, but they think about it differently. According to research conducted by Robert L. Selman and Anne P. Selman, children's thinking about friendship develops in stages in much the same way as their reasoning about moral issues and other interpersonal relationships (Selman and Selman 1979). The Selmans also found that many youngsters need help in making and keeping friends and in dealing with friendship-related conflicts.

The importance of friends does not appear to diminish as one grows into adulthood, although the nature, forms, and bases of friendship change dramatically. While we lack extensive research data on friendship, such popular-culture indices as television shows ("Laverne and Shirley") and singles-club memberships suggest the importance of friendship in our society. The few studies which do exist (e.g., Block 1980 and Parlee 1979) confirm that the experience of friendship is crucial to the healthy social and emotional development of children and adults. Strained family relationships and alienation from the community underline the importance of friends as a source of trust, understanding, affection, and acceptance.

In contrast to the centrality of friendship in people's lives, the topic is virtually nonexistent in social studies. A few primary-level textbooks touch on the subject, and some supplementary materials contain activities related to friendship. Of all the social roles, however, that of friend receives by far the least emphasis in social studies.

Social studies (along with language arts and counseling) has an important and legitimate contribution to make in this area. While a new educational movement (such as "Education for Responsible Friendship" or "Friend Education") is not being suggested here, some vital aspects of friendship can be a part of schooling and social studies. Many students at all levels will respond to opportunities to examine and discuss questions related to friendship, and the social sciences have important knowledge and skills to offer in educating students for the role of friend. Appropriate topics include forms of friendship, ranging from casual to intimate, responsibilities and expectations associated with friendship, qualities of good friends, processes of making friends, social mobility, same-sex/opposite-sex friendships, conflicts between family and friends, peer groups, cross-cultural friendships, and wartime friendships.

Member of Social Groups

Every person is a member of various social groups. Broadly defined, these include (1) groups whose membership is determined at birth (being male or female, a member of a racial group, and a member of an age cohort group), (2) such categories as religious groups, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic classes, into which persons are born but from which they may move, and (3) groups to which people choose to belong, such as bridge clubs, baseball teams, and women's consciousness-raising groups.

Participation and membership in all these groups can take place at various levels of involvement; however, certain socially prescribed expectations and norms are associated with membership in each group. Social studies efforts in regard to membership in the first two kinds of groups should be focused on teaching students to be aware of the existence and nature of different kinds of groups, to analyze their particular affiliations with groups, to make conscious individual decisions about the extent of their participation in various groups, and to understand the nature and origins of group expectations--emphasizing that one does not necessarily have to limit his or her choices because of traditional group expectations. This has indeed been a major thrust of many multicultural education, ethnic studies, and women's equity efforts.

At the most intimate level, a person can choose to belong to a small face-to-face group whose primary goal is social or philosophical rather than political or whose organizing principle may be ethnic identity, religion, age, or sex. Some examples of groups in this category are a social club based mainly on ethnic affiliation, a youth athletic club, a bridge club, and a local church or temple. A major contribution of social studies at this level can be to help students examine the nature, purpose, and dynamics of such groups--who belongs to these groups, where they exist, why they form, and how they are run--as well as group responsibilities, rules, and norms.

At still another level, a social group may be a large-scale (national or global) organization whose purpose is to help maintain and improve the social conditions of a particular group--for example, the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The role of social studies in regard to such a group is to teach about its nature, purpose, function, and impact and to help students make reflective decisions about possible participation.

Still another type of group is a social aggregate lacking any kind of formal organization--males in the United States, children in the world, and Jews, for example. This category also includes members of geographically defined aggregates: people who live in the same river valley, mountain range, or desert, who have no political organization but share certain values and behavior because of their interaction with a common environment. Here the major role of social studies is to teach about the impact and contributions of such groups in the United States and the world--with attention to the groups' cultural traditions, customs, and history and the effects of major historical or contemporary forces on their social welfare. Examples of historical topics are the impact of the Civil War on blacks and the effect of economic recession and inflation on the roles of women in the United States. A very current topic related to these issues is the recent immigration to the United States of Cambodian refugees, Cubans, and other groups, resulting from international political events. The impact of this immigration on the United States and on these people is a very significant topic that social studies can examine.

Finally, social studies can contribute to students' understanding of the group-member role by focusing on the interrelationships between this role and the other social roles. Family roles, for example, are closely related to membership in ethnic groups. Another crucial topic is the potential conflict between the citizen role and membership in social groups. Recent multicultural education efforts have helped to emphasize the pluralistic nature of our society and therefore of citizenship in the United States. Some, however, view this as fragmentation of the society and subordination of national civic values to ethnic and cultural values. The possible interrelationships between the citizen role and religious group member role have been dramatized by the direct involvement of some religious groups in recent political campaigns. Teaching directly and honestly about these kinds of conflicts and interrelationships today and in the past is a significant responsibility of social studies.

Self

As indicated in the previous discussion of social roles, U.S. society expects a person to be a good citizen, worker, consumer, family member, and to a lesser extent a good friend. In addition, our society often conveys certain expected ways a person should act based on the sex cohort role, ethnic group, and social class to which he or she belongs. Our society places still another expectation on people because of the high value it puts on the individual: people are also encouraged to be themselves--to express their own uniqueness and to develop their full potentialities. This striving for fulfillment and realization as a unique and competent person occurs both within the six social roles (e.g., by being a unique teacher or the best father you can possibly be) and outside those roles (e.g., by reading history to expand one's intellectual horizons or running ten miles a day to develop and maintain a healthy body). We have defined this function and the sets of relationships, meanings, and values associated with it as the role of self.*

The importance of including a focus on self has been recognized by many educators within and outside the social studies field. Goals of increasing self-awareness and enhancing self-esteem have been a central aspect of humanistic education and values clarification (e.g., Canfield and Wells 1976; Raths, Harmin, and Simon 1978). Many social studies educators also include these goals (e.g., Fenton 1977).

As do the other roles, the role of self involves the person in certain kinds of activities. In addition to acting competently in the other roles, these self-development-oriented activities include developing a positive and realistic self-concept, increasing one's self-awareness, expanding one's intellectual capacities, developing and maintaining a healthy emotional and physical being, and clarifying and living by a set of personal values that leads to individual and societal well being.

All aspects of school and society share some responsibility for education and development related to the role of self. What is the unique contribution of social studies to this goal? Primarily providing learning experiences that will help students understand how the other social roles, including membership in social groups, influence identity and self-development, as well as how the latter can influence and change social roles. To accomplish this goal social studies can draw on the social sciences--from psychology, sociology, social psychology, history, anthropology, and cultural geography--as well as on sources such as multicultural education, sex-role awareness, literature, and philosophy.

A final contribution of social studies and other subject areas to the goal of education for the role of self is to help each student expand and develop his or her intellectual capacity. This goal has two important aspects. One involves teaching content from social studies that students should know simply in order to be informed persons--even if such knowledge does not lead to immediate payoffs in terms of success in other social roles. The other is helping students develop a sense of the joy of learning and knowing. While much social studies knowledge can be justified on the basis that an informed person should know it, social studies teachers should emphasize demonstrating to students that learning can be satisfying--even joyful--for its own sake. This aspect of students' intellectual development should be strengthened.

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*While it may not be common to use the term "self" as a "role," as it is used here, we believe this is convenient terminology for our present purpose, emphasizing the important relationship of the self to the "other" six social roles. This usage is similar to that of some sociologists and philosophers who have focused on an interactionist perspective on self and society (e.g., Bigge 1971; Blumer 1970). A similar view of the self role has also been taken by some social studies educators (e.g., Haas 1981).

Why Social Roles?

The goal of refocusing social studies on social roles cannot be easily attained, nor will it be a magical panacea for the problems of social studies. The social-roles focus is recommended in the belief that it will help, more than some existing approaches, to alleviate the six problems described by Project SPAN and move social studies toward the desired states recommended by SPAN. The basis for making this statement is explained below in relation to each problem area and desired state.

Student Learning

The most important problem to be addressed in the 1980s, and by implication the ultimate desired state to be achieved, is related to student learning and valuing of social studies. Since social roles focus on how children and adults spend time and act in the social world, this orientation should help students appreciate the importance of social studies, increase student motivation to learn social studies, and, ultimately, improve students' learning of significant knowledge and skills in social studies.

While this hypothesis has not been tested empirically, one study that did relate to this idea is supportive. A study of 772 high school students' perceptions of the relationship of social studies to work, family, and community concluded that: "By developing the linkages of their subject matter to future personal development, (social studies) teachers could increase the likelihood that students would consider the subject important, and would work harder to learn it" (Farman, Natriello, and Dornbusch 1978, p. 38).

The social-roles focus can help students see the value of social studies. Can it also lead to increased learning of important social studies knowledge and skills? A case can be made for social roles having more potential to do that than some other approaches. First, the social roles provide a framework for asking what knowledge and skills are most important for living in the social world. If helping students become effective participants in the social world is the ultimate goal of social studies, the social-roles focus might lead to a clarification of knowledge and skills that are more directly related to that goal and not entirely different from the knowledge and skills now being taught.

Second, social roles is more likely than other approaches to improve student learning because it has a greater potential for stimulating student interest and motivation. A recent meta-analysis of educational research has demonstrated a consistent and positive relationship between student motivation and attitudes and student learning (Walberg, Schiller, and Haertel 1979). Common sense also suggests that students learn more when they are interested and involved in a subject and when they believe it is important and useful to them.

Third, a social-roles framework has a great potential to incorporate and use the knowledge about student cognitive, moral, and social development that has been gained in the past decade or two. Unlike approaches that focus on one aspect of social studies (such as influencing public policy, learning the basic facts and generalizations of the discipline, or being a responsible citizen), the social-roles approach with its balanced emphasis on personal, interpersonal, and societal issues will lend itself readily to integrating the implications of a wide range of child development research.

Suggesting the potential for social roles to use knowledge of student needs and interest is not to advocate a total focus on student interest. Some structure, such as that of the social roles, is needed to provide a stable focus within which student concerns can be considered without creating a curriculum which is repetitious or unduly concentrated on the egocentric orientations of students.

Teaching Practices

The central problem related to instruction that Project SPAN has identified is that most teachers do not use a variety of instructional practices in social studies, despite the fact that most educators believe that this should be done. Previous reform efforts have attempted to change this situation by focusing on single instructional strategies (e.g., inquiry learning, student participation). A social-roles focus does not rely on any single instructional strategy, but calls for recognition of the value of different instructional practices and recommends that they all be integrated into a coherent social studies program.

A recent study indicates that social studies teachers support integrative approaches and materials that relate knowledge to their students' lives (Fontana 1980, pp. 70-73). The social-roles approach places a major emphasis on this factor, an additional advantage that many other reform efforts have not had.

Curriculum

The major problem with the social studies curriculum today, as identified by Project SPAN, is that it is not organized around or focused on personal and societal goals that help students become effective participants in the social world. The social-roles focus is designed to alleviate this problem by emphasizing the wide range of roles in which people engage--from mainly personal ones such as friend and family member to societal ones such as consumer and citizen. The social-roles framework, moreover, provides an excellent way to integrate the many diverse topic areas such as legal education, multicultural studies, consumer education, and career education. The roles also provide an understandable framework for integrating knowledge from history and the social science disciplines and for explicating the major knowledge, skill, value, and participation goals of social studies.

These four types of goals can be considered in relation to the social roles. The following questions, for example, can be asked when planning a social studies program: What knowledge and skills are most useful for helping students understand and function in their roles as members of the family? What values and participation goals are particularly relevant to the consumer and worker roles?

Similar questions can be asked in relation to the social science disciplines and special topics related to social studies. Some questions related to the disciplines are: What knowledge from sociology and psychology is especially important to help students understand family roles and friendship? What knowledge from economics is most useful in relation to the worker and consumer roles? What political science concepts and generalizations are most vital to helping students become better citizens? The focus can also be turned around to question traditional elements of social studies programs: To what role or roles do American history courses most contribute? World history courses? Psychology and sociology courses?

The same kinds of questions can be asked of the various special topics, such as legal education, environmental education, global education, multicultural education, consumer education, career education, women's studies, and future studies. Most advocates of these special topics push for their inclusion in all courses. Thus, for example, proponents of global perspectives say they should be stressed in all courses--U.S. history, world history, civics, government, etc. Multicultural proponents want the same thing, as do the other groups. But teachers cannot do everything in every course. Some topics are more appropriate for certain goals than others. The roles can help social studies educators make these curriculum decisions.

The roles, then, have strong potential for developing a comprehensive social studies curriculum based on personal and societal issues. Moreover, the roles provide a curriculum focus that can integrate three previously competing perspectives of social studies--subject, learner, and society.

Actual implementation of the curriculum approach described here in a school, district, or state will, of course, depend upon many other factors, including the availability of materials, the ability to demonstrate that the intellectual integrity of the disciplines can be maintained, and the ability to convince the public that such a curriculum is needed. The potential for crossing these barriers with the social-roles focus has great promise.

Profession

One of the primary needs identified by Project SPAN for improving the profession is to develop a greater unity of purpose and direction for social studies instruction. In the past 20 years a number of approaches and rationales for social studies have been posited, including reflective inquiry, social science disciplines, citizenship transmission, and student-centered (Morrissett and Haas 1982). The critical need now is to develop approaches to social studies that synthesize the best elements of each of these various perspectives and point toward helping students understand and act effectively in their social lives.

One such approach is the roles focus, which calls for providing learning experiences and for teaching knowledge, skills, and values that will help students understand and act effectively in the major roles in which they engage in the social world. This will require students to learn facts, concepts, and generalizations from history and the social science disciplines; it will involve developing reflective thinking and rational decision-making skills; and it will include developing some basic values and discussing value issues. Instead of advocating these things for their own sake and instead of competing for attention, proponents of these approaches can see where and how each of their views fits into the overall purpose of social studies. The roles, therefore, can be an effective way to provide a greater sense of unity and direction to the profession.

Efforts to establish a social roles focus on a K-12 basis can also encourage interaction among elementary, junior high, and senior high social studies teachers. This would, of course, be true for any attempt to provide a K-12 focus for social studies, but the social roles, more than other approaches to social studies, also provide a strong basis for fostering communication between social studies educators and other subject area teachers.

Finally, the roles focus can contribute to alleviating teacher dissatisfaction by providing teachers with a comprehensive and understandable statement of the central purpose of social studies--a purpose which can also be understood and supported by students. In addition, the social-roles approach provides a framework whereby teachers of all grade levels and of varying perspectives can contribute to achieving the central purpose.

Culture of the School

A major problem which inhibited most of the social studies reform efforts in the past two decades was ignorance of the dominant school culture (Anderson 1982). The social-roles framework takes this very powerful influence into account by providing a structure which recognizes and uses the fact that schools and society have these complex cultures with often-conflicting value orientations. Most schools will probably never be laboratories for democracy. Some aspects of schools may be appropriate for learning about democracy, while other aspects may more appropriately be settings to prepare students for their roles as workers, consumers, and friends. Thus, the roles framework, instead of clashing with the school culture, can use it to enhance social studies learning.

Public Awareness

The sixth problem identified by Project SPAN points to the need for more public awareness of, support for, and involvement in social studies in the 1980s. This will not be easily attained. The adult public, according to a recent Gallup poll, shares students' belief that their social studies classes are not very useful and relevant to their lives (Gallup 1978). Paradoxically, they still rate U.S. history and government as essential subjects (Gallup 1979). Both views, however, are probably tied to the realities they experienced as students--those courses were required for them but were not perceived as being very relevant. Personal and societal relevancy is one important aspect of the social-roles approach. If social studies educators can demonstrate this to the public, a major step toward public understanding and support can be achieved.

Thus, efforts to educate the public must occur when we try to gain involvement and support. The social roles have an important advantage over other social studies reform approaches in these efforts. The roles can be explained in simple, understandable terms--citizen, consumer, worker, friend, parent, child, and so on--to which the public can relate. Previous reform approaches had to overcome jargonistic terms such as "interdisciplinary social science concepts" and "reflective inquiry processes" when communicating with laypeople.

It is also important to recognize that the public (despite our use of this term) is not a monolithic, homogeneous group. The public really consists of many different groups of adults who are very pluralistic in backgrounds, experiences, and values. While public opinion polls reveal some majority opinions, they also reveal many differences. A recent Gallup poll, for instance, indicates that "the public" is roughly split in half over whether high schools should offer fewer courses or a wider variety of courses (Gallup 1979). If more differences such as this do exist, some segments of the public may be very receptive to the social-roles focus. Some of this support would probably come from people who have liberal views on education. The roles focus, however, also has some potential for appealing to people with conservative views. Those who believe that productive work and a strong family are the bedrocks of American society, for example, may respond to the emphasis placed on the worker and family member roles.

Some Questions About Social Roles

Some of the questions that might be raised about the focus on social roles suggested here, and possible answers to these questions, are given here.

Would adoption of social roles as an organizing focus mean virtual abandonment of the present social studies curriculum? No; much of the present content could be kept. Many existing courses, current activities, and available materials contain valuable elements for teaching social roles. Historical perspectives and concepts, for example, are valuable sources of knowledge to help people understand and function well as citizens, consumers, and family members in our rapidly changing society.

Would adoption of social roles as a focus of social studies relegate citizenship to a minor role in the curriculum? No; citizenship could, and probably should, remain the single most important role in social studies. Citizenship would, however, give way to greater emphasis on the other roles. The shift in emphasis might be illustrated as in Figure 2. (The "current emphasis" in Figure 2 represents the rhetoric of social studies rather than the reality. While citizenship is widely proclaimed

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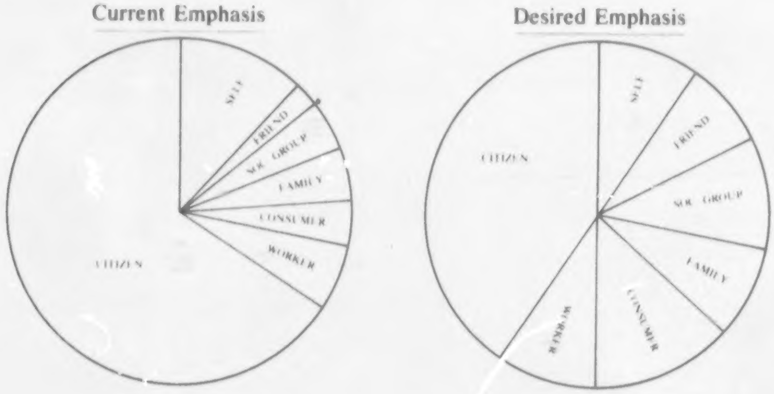
as the only or dominant goal of social studies, the reality is that much of social studies is unrelated to citizenship or to any other discernible goal. Social roles can furnish a focus that is now missing in much of social studies teaching.)

Figure 2

SUGGESTED CHANGE IN EMPHASIS ON VARIOUS SOCIAL ROLES



In a curriculum based on social roles, is there any place for topics based on social concerns which have come into the curriculum recently--such as multicultural studies, women's studies, future studies, and global issues? Yes; social roles can provide a useful framework for selecting and organizing subject matter related to these concerns. Studying families of different ethnic groups or in different cultures, for example, will not only enhance multicultural awareness but will help students place their own family roles and membership in ethnic groups in perspective. Focusing on the possible roles of consumers and workers in the 21st century can add additional relevance to future studies programs.

Doesn't a focus on social roles imply that students are to be indoctrinated into passive acceptance of the roles assigned to them by society? No; using the roles as a focus and organizer for social studies instruction does not necessarily imply indoctrination. Like any other focus, the roles provide a setting within which students can and should deal with the interplay between individual goals and societal goals, social maintenance and social change, and self-actualization and socialization. Most of these social roles have changed dramatically in the past 20 years; more changes in the future are inevitable. Preparing students for these and other emerging roles in the future will mean much more than instilling a set of proper norms and behaviors.

Doesn't a social-roles emphasis suggest a low level of intellectual endavor--a "Mickey Mouse" type of curriculum? As with any other goal or focus, it would be easy to reduce social roles to triviality--with courses such as "Your Friends in History" and "One Hundred Ways to Enhance Your Self-Concept Through Geography." This need not happen. The examples given in the preceding pages should indicate that it is possible to focus on social roles while maintaining the intellectual integrity of history and the social sciences.

Doesn't an emphasis on social roles in social studies imply that social studies will bear sole responsibility for developing informed, competent, and committed citizens, workers, consumers, and so on? No; other subject areas and aspects of school life have important contributions to those roles. Science teachers, for example, share at least an equal responsibility with social studies teachers for helping students become wise consumers of energy and other environmental resources. Beyond the school, other social institutions (e.g., family, media, business, and church) have a powerful influence in social roles development. A young person's own family, for instance, has an enormous impact on the kind of parent or spouse he or she will be. Social studies does, however, have a valuable contribution to make to education related to the social roles--within the school, probably the greatest contribution.

Conclusion

We have attempted to demonstrate how a social-roles focus is consistent with Project SPAN's analysis of major problems and statements of desired states for social studies in the 1980s and may be more effective than some existing approaches in helping to achieve those desired states. We are not implying, however, that this focus is the only way or that it is a proven way to alleviate those problems and move toward those desired states. We welcome other viewpoints on how to accomplish those improvements. Meanwhile, we have submitted "social roles" as one specific suggestion for helping to make social studies more useful and worthwhile for elementary and secondary students in the 1980s and beyond.

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CONCEPTS AND SKILLS: SOCIAL STUDIES IN 2002

By James G. Lengel

Prologue

This essay predicts what a study of the "current state of social studies" might report if a new framework for social studies education were to be developed and implemented in the next two decades. The framework suggested in the essay uses a core of concepts and skills as the organizing focus of social studies learning. The idea of focusing social studies around major concepts and skills is not new, yet it is one which has not gained widespread understanding or use in this country.

To examine what might happen if a concept/skills approach to social studies were implemented, the essay has been written as if it were a report submitted to the National Science Foundation in 2002--a report requested by the education directorate of the foundation (which was revived in 1985) as a research update of the 1982 SPAN study. As such, the "findings" in the "2002 SPAN Report" provide a brief analysis of the potential strengths this approach offers social studies curriculum today.

The vision presented in the essay is not Project SPAN's recommendation for what social studies should be. It does not represent a consensus of SPAN staff members or consultants, nor is it based on extensive opinion or experimental research among social studies professionals. It is designed to provoke discussion and to show how a more unified and reasoned approach to social studies might strengthen the field.

So, let's move to 2002, and--as they say in law-related education circles--*res ipse loquitor*, let the thing speak for itself.

REPORT ON SOCIAL STUDIES
IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Submitted to the National Science Foundation
September 1, 2002

Introduction

This section of the 2002 SPAN report summarizes the recent NSF research on social studies education in elementary and secondary schools. In writing this report, the authors have gathered and synthesized information from several surveys and research reports conducted from 1998 through 2000. These include ethnographic reports of classrooms, schools, and communities in a representative sample of American social studies classrooms; questionnaires to the profession and to the public; and a review of all significant literature in the field over the past 20 years. This section describes the current state of social studies education as reflected in these data sources. It is the first such study done since the 1982 SPAN report.

The past 20 years have seen a resurgence of interest, concern, and research in the field of education. Most people, including the general public as well as the education profession, agree that the desired state for social studies education suggested in the 1982 SPAN report has been reached. Serious professional work, coupled with enlightened public concern and support, has resulted in qualitative changes in teacher training, in school operation, in the publishing industry, in federal, state, and local government requirements, and in financial support for social studies.

Purposes and Goals

There is general acceptance of the present boundaries and central features of the social studies field, albeit with recognition of the continuing need for modification as changes occur in the real world and as research progresses in the social sciences. The current boundaries and central features of the social studies have been made explicit through a variety of media presentations, conferences, and institutes over the past 20 years. Researchers, professors of education and social science, supervisors, teachers, state boards and legislatures, parents, and even students have a remarkably common idea of social studies. As a third-grade teacher in Minneapolis said to our interviewer:

> It's clear to me what my kids are supposed to learn. Not that it's tied to some specific objective or test; rather it's that the board, the parents, and I seem to agree what the ideas and skills are that the kids are to come away with.

The purpose of social studies around the country is to have the students learn a commonly-agreed-upon set of concepts, or ideas, about humans and their environments and a set of skills, or techniques, for understanding and dealing with societal data. The concepts--important ideas which help explain social activity--were agreed upon by matching several longitudinal studies of children's cognitive development with studies of the structure of the social sciences and history. These became the core concepts of the social studies field.

A few examples of the concepts which are now considered "core" in social studies learning are production, market, justice, authority, identity, values, culture, groups, land, man, institutions, population, ecology, government, rules and law, interdependence, cause/effect, change, conflict, emotions, and continuity. Once concepts were identified, educators and scientists worked together to produce a literature which defined the developmental stages of each concept and made these available to teachers, textbook authors, and the public through a now-famous, five-year series of NCSS-sponsored institutes and educational campaigns.

The skills--actions that a student can perform with data and experience--were decided upon by the social studies profession after matching the cognitive-developmental study discussed above with another study of 6,000 competent Americans. The "competent-American" study examined what skills these people used in dealing with the world and making decisions. The study identified a set of skills that are important to people in all walks of life, from neurosurgeon to mechanic to law professor to keypunch operator, and which they all used regularly. Among the skills included in social studies instruction are identifying problems, organizing data, distinguishing fact from opinion, drawing conclusions, using research resources, reading map symbols, making maps, and creating solutions. The study also offered various schemes for organizing skills in developmentally sound and instructionally practical ways. From this study and its many replications, along with studies of the naturalistic development of these skills by children, the profession communicated this set of skills to the public and teachers through the NCSS program described above.

This definition of the field has limited it. Topics are included in the curriculum only if they help to teach these concepts and skills. Such a limitation is not overly restrictive, since the concepts and skills can be used to explain and predict in almost any topic or content area; selectivity as to topics and content is still necessary, lending variety to the curriculum. Also, new ways of teaching the concepts and skills are constantly being explored.

Throughout the country in 2002 most social studies curricula are built on the concepts/skills approach. This approach serves as a mutually understandable and acceptable standard to judge what does and does not belong in social studies instruction. Our surveys found that when parents and teachers were asked, "What is social studies?" more than 85 percent answered in terms of the concepts and skills discussed above. In more than 93 percent of the local curriculum guides sampled in another study, some form of these concepts was evident as the main focus of the curriculum. A common report from the ethnographers was:

> The social studies lessons all seemed to be oriented toward getting the pupils to see relationships in social phenomena, and toward having them learn and apply certain skills. In virtually every case, it was clear to us which concept the teacher was trying to develop.

Curriculum

In describing the status of the curriculum in 1982, the original SPAN report gave particular attention to three dimensions of curriculum: organizational patterns, special topics, and curriculum materials. This report analyzes the same dimensions in assessing the current state of the curriculum in the early part of the 21st century.

Organizational Patterns

Although concepts and skills are generally accepted as the curriculum core, there is great variety in the way concepts and skills are learned and in the patterns of courses and topics used to teach them. Since curriculum decisions are made by a variety of state and local educational units and since teachers are allowed considerable latitude in selecting and presenting material, there is a healthy diversity in social studies curricula across the nation. The strength of the conceptual foundation has made educators comfortable in experimenting with new and different ways to build upon it. Because all contents and topics considered for inclusion in a curriculum can be judged against a common set of criteria, educators have little fear of "doing the wrong thing" or "missing some important topic."

As of 2002, almost all of the states have defined their social studies curriculum laws and regulations in terms of certain concepts and skills to be learned by students. States allow local schools the authority to design the courses and topics they will use to teach the required items. Over the past 20 years, using federal block-grant funds to support summer teacher work, more than 85 percent of school districts in the country have developed a local curriculum plan for social studies. Based solidly on the common concepts and skills, each of these plans sets out the topics, units, and courses to be taken by the students in the district. Because funding has been contingent on involving parents and social scientists in summer work programs, most of these local plans exhibit a healthy blend of scholarly findings, traditional common sense, and community values.

A random-sample survey of these plans conducted in 2000 found that 97 percent of them had community study as a required topic, 98 percent had American history. 83 percent required in-depth study of a non-Western culture, 93 percent used topics from the 19th century or earlier, and 76 percent included content from the 1960 to 2000 period. Within these general topic areas, specific topics were selected and treated in a wide variety of ways.

Realizing that teachers need considerable professional leeway to effectively teach concepts and skills to students, most plans do not require that specific books or materials be used. Although most programs require each teacher to explain how topics contribute to learning core concepts, they usually allow the teachers to select what they think is the best content. Three-fourths of the plans allow, and many require, each teacher to include each year an "experimental" topic, one not included in the district's guide. Because most (80 percent) of the teachers participated in the five-year NCSS campaign and because many state and local certification systems require teachers to demonstrate familiarity with both the conceptual framework and the currently available materials, this freedom has resulted in some excellent individually tailored curricula.

As a result of the shared conception of social studies and the strength of recent research, social studies enjoys a premier place in the schools of America. While it is not always easy to distinguish social studies time allotments from ongoing social learning in self-contained elementary school classrooms where much "unified curriculum" exists, our surveys show that about 60 minutes per day are spent in social study, K-3, 75 minutes in 4-6, and 75 minutes in 7-12. Virtually all students take a full year of social studies in each year of elementary school (through the eighth grade) as well as in grades 9, 10, and 11. Eighty percent of them take a full year in grade 12. As teachers in other curriculum fields have become aware of social studies' strength, they have begun to orient their teaching toward the same set of concepts. This is especially true of English literature teachers in secondary schools. If we were to count all of the social study which is being done by English teachers, the average time allotments for social studies would be even higher. A similar trend is evident for science teachers in the environmental studies area.

Because social studies is now so widely understood, supervision of the curriculum has become easier and more serious. Supervisors know what to look for when they supervise, and teachers know what supervisors are looking for in their visits. The curriculum plans so carefully stated in guides are easy to implement and observe. Our observational studies confirmed that district curriculum guidelines were being followed in 96 percent of the classrooms visited.

"Articulation" between grade-levels and schools, which was a major problem in the 1960s and 1970s, is no longer an issue. The agreed-upon concepts and skills form a thread that runs through the grades and courses, keeping everyone focused on the same goals. Content is not considered as critical as concepts, but most teachers accept the topics outlined in curriculum guides because they helped select them. Most districts have worked out a regular curriculum-update system for teachers in the district to share new ideas and review the essential core.

To ensure continuity, districts commonly select two or three non-American cultures and two or three periods in American history for emphasis in their curricula. Students study these cultures and eras periodically during their school careers, along with a wide variety of other topics. For example, a student might study the work performed by each member of a Chinese farm family in grade 2, the geography of that same farm area in grade 4, its history in grade 7, the rites-of-passage of the rural Chinese adolescent in grade 9, and the government and economic structures of the area in grade 12. The same aspects of a South American Andes Mountain village might also be studied in the same grades, along with similar aspects of Americans in the years 1760-1770 and 1920-1930. Both the treatment of the topics and the level of conceptualization are carefully matched to students' developmental abilities.

Interspersed in the K-12 program of each student, along with the cultures and historical period studies, are several surveys of traditional content areas which trace developments of the American, European, African, and Asian cultures. These surveys usually come at the 9-12 grade levels, after many examples of the cultures have already been studied by the students since kindergarten. The surveys are generally one semester or less in length, serving to tie together bits of content students have already learned, rather than presenting large amounts of new material. Like all other social studies experiences, these surveys are designed mainly to teach the core concepts and skills.

Special Topics

Although the set of core concepts and skills includes most of the learnings society feels are most important, topics that seem to need special attention occasionally arise. These topics are included in the curriculum as need (and often public pressure) demands, but they are always used to teach the core concepts. A good example is the new emphasis on "voting skills."

The 1992 national election, an uninspiring race between colorless candidates, produced a voter turnout of only 42 percent, including an abysmal 23 percent of the 18 to 25 age cohort. The social studies profession took upon itself the task of working on this problem; today most schools include voting and elections as a major topic in 11th and 12th grades. The study of this topic is carefully designed to teach core concepts such as "political power" and "social class" and to develop student skills in surveying, interviewing, and decision making. In this way, this topic and others of current social concern are easily fit into the social studies curriculum.

Considering that only a few states still specify social studies in terms of content, there is a surprising commonality among the topics being studied locally. However, our surveys of materials used and our observations of sample classrooms showed that the treatment of these topics is in no way uniform. Depending on the school district and the teacher, a student could study a topic like "Civil War" in a variety of ways. It is fair to say, as a result of our research, that while almost every American student ends up learning a core of concepts and skills, few students in the country study the same sequence of topics and activities. As a result, the graduates of our schools in 2002 share a common facility for understanding social phenomena, but reflect a wide diversity of social studies experiences.

Curriculum Materials

In the 1982 SPAN report, an article by John Patrick and Sharryl Hawke analyzed how the social studies textbook developed from market forces--the texts reflected what the buyers demanded--and how the market changed in the 1950-1980 period. Today, Patrick's thesis still holds true. Publishing houses develop printed teaching materials that suit the mainstream of the social studies curriculum. In the 1960s and 1970s, that mainstream was judged by many as inadequate, tradition-bound, and unstudied. Social studies professionals, especially those in colleges and universities, criticized and tried to reform it. Today's (2002) mainstream, however, enjoys almost universal support among the profession. Its tenets, its organizational scheme, and its purposes are seen by most as being based on sound, scientific principles that are explicitly stated. There is no discrepancy between the most popular published materials and the stated goals of the social studies curriculum.

Published materials, in book or booklet form, remain the most popular teaching tool in the social studies curriculum. Within each of these texts are readings and activities that are appropriate for a wide variety of teaching strategies. Other materials used today are video (about 10 percent of class time), games and kits (about 12 percent--these contain artifacts and other items that cannot be published in book form), and teacher-developed units (about 17 percent). This diversity of teaching materials has been greatly facilitated by the growth of budget support--from less than one percent of the typical school budget in 1982 to about three percent today.

An analysis of the most popular published texts reveals some very interesting findings. Texts are specialized; each focuses on a rather narrow topic and uses it to teach the core concepts and skills. Few of the texts are "survey" texts that try to cover a wide range of content. Authors and publishers have come up with many creative ways to "use" content to "get at" concepts and skills; very seldom do two texts teach the same concept with the same topic in the same way.

Because of the unifying power of the concepts/skills framework, it is easier for school systems and individual teachers to use a variety of textbooks for a single program or single course. It is no longer commonplace for a district to "adopt" a single publisher's "series" for all of its social studies program. Districts tend to purchase and use a variety of publishers' works--those that best fit their custom-designed programs.

Teachers' opinions of the materials they use tend to be positive; 73 percent reported that they were "satisfied" with the materials in their classrooms. But few are complacent or "fully satisfied" (18 percent); teachers are always looking for a better way to teach a certain concept using a favorite topic. Their ratings of curriculum materials seem to be based mostly on the materials' ability to teach the concepts and skills they are emphasizing. Seldom is their selection or rating based on cosmetic factors.

Examination of these three curriculum dimensions--organizational patterns, special topics, and curriculum materials--clearly indicates that the focus of concepts and skills has been successful in bringing about a curriculum with an effective mix of uniformity and diversity. By basing curriculum decisions on the concepts/skills framework, schools across the country show remarkable similarity in basic purposes, yet each school's program is personalized by the range of topics offered and by the way in which topics are taught. Special topics are now considered powerful vehicles for teaching core concepts and skills, rather than add-ons to an overcrowded curriculum. Very importantly, publishers have been willing to offer a wide variety of materials to support the new concept/skill curriculum focus. These factors have combined to produce both commitment to and enthusiasm for social studies curriculum among teachers, students, administrators, and citizens.

Instructional Practices

The 1982 SPAN reports indicated that most social studies classrooms exhibited only a few different teaching styles, centered around a loose lecture-discussion format. In 2002, we still find the lecture-discussion being used, but only about 15 percent of the time. The past 20 years have seen an increase in the diversity of instructional practices used by teachers of social studies.

A typical student, over a two-week period of social studies classes, spends about two hours in lecture-discussion, one hour watching a media presentation, one hour participating in a simulation game, two hours doing field work and writing it up, an hour studying for and taking tests and quizzes, an hour in a small-group decision-making activity, an hour listening to other students' reports, and an hour working in the library with original sources.

A typical teacher uses, in the same two-week period, a variety of teaching strategies, with no two days' instruction being exactly the same. Teacher training and supervision in social studies today prepares and encourages teachers to develop an extensive repertoire of techniques. This is a major change from 1980, when teachers were commonly allowed to practice their favorite technique day in and day out.

Table 1 shows the percentage of classroom time spent on each of several instructional practices. These percentages are averaged from the reports of 15,000 teachers and from ethnographic studies of 400 classrooms.

Table 1

INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES IN SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOMS

	Percent of Class Time	
	ELEMENTARY K-6	SECONDARY 7-12
Lecture-discussion	10%	15%
Audiovisual	12%	12%
Field work	8%	15%
Simulations and games	8%	12%
Drama/art	15%	6%
Reading/study	11%	14%
Small-group work	15%	12%
Test/quiz	5%	8%
Other	16%	6%

It is evident from the table that no single strategy dominates in the social studies classroom, and that elementary teachers use a different "mix" than secondary teachers.

Why this remarkable change in instructional practice in the past 20 years? The authors of this report believe that it results from two factors:

1. The research on learning styles that was done along with the research on concept development in children. This was disseminated at the NCSS institutes along with the conceptual framework and became part of most teacher-training programs.

2. The change in published materials. As teachers' styles changed and older, "single-method" teachers retired, publishers found a new market in social studies. Buyers began looking for books that included a variety of teaching strategies within the student and teacher materials. As publishers adapted to this market, the instructional potential of the products changed radically.

Research

When psychologists studied how children learn social concepts, they found that few children learn in one narrow style. They found that children learned concepts best, and were able to apply concepts better, when the ideas were presented in a variety of ways. No one, single strategy resulted in greater concept learning than any other single strategy; for example, simulation-games alone were no better in teaching the concept of "political power" than was lecture-discussion alone. However, when a child was presented with four or five different ways of learning the same concept, the results were positive. This was found to be true for very young children as well as for high school students.

The results of this research were explained to the profession and to the public in the five-year NCSS campaign to improve social studies that took place in the mid-1980s. The campaign must have been successful, especially in preservice teacher education, because it has had the desired effect in American classrooms. As one veteran social studies teacher told the SPAN interviewer:

> You know, we used to talk about whether A/V was a better teaching tool than lecture/discussion, or which teaching style was best. That just got us to arguing, and tended to divide teachers. When the multiple-strategy research came out, it was convincing; at the same time, we all found something we liked in it. Now we argue about what is the proper "mix" of teaching strategies for a particular class or group of students.

The multiple-strategy research also helped forge a stronger link between instructional practices and curriculum organization. In the research, each lesson was aimed at teaching one or two concepts; the strategy used to teach them was chosen to fit the multiple-strategy theory. The research findings demonstrated how different concepts are more effectively taught with some techniques than with others. Teachers now use these findings when deciding how to teach a particular concept or skill. When SPAN observers sat in on social studies lessons, it was usually quite clear which concept or skill was being taught and which method was being used.

Teachers, trained to use a wide and varied repertoire, supported by multi-strategy texts, and encouraged by research illustrating the strength of multiple strategies, now use a careful mix of instructional practices in social studies. Strategies are chosen not for their own sake but to most effectively teach the concepts and skills that form the core of social studies.

Problems and Issues

Although the social studies curriculum of 2002 is strong, unified, and successful, it is not without its problems. The diversity of topics selected to illustrate the basic concepts and skills may result in repetition of topics for students who move from one school or district to another. Pressures of special-interest groups to add topics or special pleadings that are incompatible with the structure and goals of social studies continue. Some teachers are restive under the structure of continually teaching "those damned concepts and skills." Some legislators and members of the public complain that the behavior of high school graduates as citizens, while much improved during recent years, still leaves much to be desired. Social scientists, while generally pleased with the scientific soundness of social studies, are nevertheless concerned about the lag in applying new social science findings to social studies instruction.

These and other problems are the subjects of continuing dialogue within the profession. Curriculum revision is the continuing task of standing committees within schools and districts. Numerous channels of communication exist among teachers, school and district administrators, state department personnel, university teacher educators and social scientists, and the public.

Suffice it to say that in 2002, social studies is alive and well, thriving after 20 years of rebirth and reorganization. The concepts and skills framework suggested in the 1980s is now fully in place and seems to be functioning well. It has brought the profession together, limited its boundaries, and unified its methods. Let us hope that the next 20 years will show as much progress.

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Epilogue

So much for the future. The preceding glimpse of a 2002 report shows how concepts and skills can be used to structure the whole field of social studies--to unify it and to limit its goals. It shows how the concepts and skills focus can solve many of the six problems outlined by SPAN This focus was chosen because it has, in the author's opinion, the best chance of taking social studies out of the doldrums it is in. It is neither revolutionary nor backward-looking. It does not require that we give up our central "citizenship" purpose. And it can incorporate most of the special interests that clutter the field today.

Here are some of the features of a concept/skills focus that make it worthy of consideration:

1. It limits the boundaries of social studies. Social studies needs to make its promises and hopes realistic. Today we promise the public everything: good citizens, intelligent voters, skilled social scientists, and respecters of tradition. We cannot deliver on such promises; these outcomes are beyond our control and we should not guarantee to produce them. We should list these goals among the things we will hope for, things we aim toward, things we would like to see happen. We should promise to deliver a small subset of these hopes--a few outcomes that we know we can produce. This is not to say that we should promise and deliver trivial things, those most easily measured, those at the lowest levels of knowledge. It is important to select as our promises those understandings that are the most useful and powerful.

At this juncture, our best bet is to state our promises in terms of the concepts and skills described in the 2002 report. We are presently equipped to teach these things; they can be taught, and we can be held accountable for them. By limiting ourselves, we can concentrate our energies, unify our profession, and not worry so much about the vagueness of our purpose. A clear set of concepts and skills is a limit that is neither trivial nor out of step with our mission.

2. It lends itself to cumulative research. Because of social studies' vagueness, research has been disparate and inconclusive. It is not clear which methods work to teach which ideas to which students,

mostly because nobody agrees on what we are trying to teach in the first place. If the profession focused on the teaching and learning of a finite set of concepts and skills, research in social studies would have a natural aim and purpose, one that would be shared among all of us. It could also make the research more useful to classroom teachers, since they would be conceptualizing their work in the same terms as the researchers. A cumulative body of research could be built to show how various strategies can be used to teach each of the core concepts and skills.

3. It could be implemented gradually. Implementing a concept/skill approach would be an evolutionary change in the field, rather than a revolution. In the first phase, the current pattern of topics would be kept. Instead of being taught for their own sake, topics would be used to teach the agreed-upon set of concepts and skills. In fact, most of us are teaching many of these concepts and skills right now, using this "old" content; we are just not aware of it. The second phase would see a change in topics, as a few old ones are dropped or reordered and new ones added each year. The third phase would happen as each school district settled on a coordinated, K-12 series of topics.

In fact, the concepts/skills focus is best thought of as another way to explain what we are already doing in social studies. The essential change is that we would all explain it in the same way, using the same terms.

4. It is inclusive and unifying. Social studies today is influenced by special interests and pressure groups that tend to divide the profession. Economic, law-related, global, community, moral, and other "educations" vie simultaneously for social studies curriculum space. Each, in a sense, feels that it is not included in the mainstream of the social studies curriculum.

A concepts/skills framework would provide a natural avenue for including these kinds of concerns. Among the core concepts would be economic ones like "productivity" and "market"; law-related ones like "justice" and "authority"; global ones like "interdependence" and "power"; and moral ones like "identity" and "values." Folks interested in each of these could concentrate on how the teaching of their favorite concepts could be improved, rather than on fighting to get a foothold in the classroom. Each would find something in the list of core concepts and skills that represents his or her particular field of interest.

Special-interest advocates would also be less inclined to focus on mandated courses. Under the concept/skill framework, each course or unit in the social studies curriculum would be expected to teach all or most of the core list. So a course on "Nineteenth Century America" would have to focus on the teaching of productivity, justice, interdependence, values, and so on; a course on "African Cultures" would also teach those concepts. There would be an economic, a law-related, a global, and a moral dimension to every course in the curriculum.

5. It is understandable. The public, the profession, our students, and fellow educators are not always sure what we are talking about when we say social studies. Everyone of us seems to explain the field differently. A common set of terms would improve understanding, not only among ourselves but among the public.

6. It is adaptable. The core concepts and skills would be chosen to stand the test of time. They would be ideas that can be used to explain the events of the past, deal with the present, and predict the future. To be chosen, a concept would have to go beyond a particular time and place. A curriculum centered on these ideas could be easily adapted--topics could be added or deleted to fit the times or current concerns without fouling up the central core. And concepts and skills, a few at a time, could easily be added to and dropped from the list.

Local specialty topics, regional concerns, special events, even holidays, could be tailored into the concept/skill fabric. Rather than watering it down or thinning it out, they would act to strengthen it. Individual teachers' interests or special school projects would be easier to fit in, as they would be forced to focus on the teaching of the core ideas.

"The basic goal of social studies education," say the NCSS curriculum guidelines, "is to prepare young people to be humane, rational, participating citizens . . ." Learning within a concepts/skills framework, these citizens would master a set of concepts that represent the best of humane thought and a set of skills that allows them to approach the world rationally and participate in it effectively. The basic purpose defined by the NCSS guidelines would remain the same; a concept/skills framework would provide a common approach to accomplish this purpose.

THREE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES

By Fred M. Newmann

High school social studies can be improved only through attention to at least three levels. The first and most obvious is the curriculum: what should be taught. The second is the teacher: how to enhance professional integrity and excitement on the job. The third is school climate: the sense of mission or purpose and the character of human relationships in the institution. The recommendations presented in this paper derive from our conclusion that the central problem for social studies education is an attitudinal one: most students do not care enough about learning social studies to put serious effort into it. (Their attitude is not unique to social studies, for it plagues other aspects of schooling in varying degrees.)

Curriculum

The social studies curriculum should involve students in problematic inquiry--empirical, analytical, and ethical--which should be community-based.

One reason that some students care little for social studies is the feeling that much of the material covered does not represent "real" problems which they might use their intelligence to solve. The student is placed largely in the passive role of mastering information or concepts which the teacher claims will be "needed" or "used" at some later time in life. This is pedagogically disastrous.

We have chosen deliberately not to recommend a list of particular courses--two years of U.S. history, one year of non-Western culture, a year of government--nor a menu of knowledge--the Bill of Rights, the Depression, or the concepts of culture, power, and equality. The field of social studies does not have a structure defined well enough to indicate what all persons should know in order to be competent as social studies thinkers or to be considered effective citizens. Many movements within the field have attempted to define its most important knowledge; some have emphasized the structure of disciplines as taught in universities while others have focused more directly on problems of contemporary significance--global education, law-related education, cultural pluralism, etc. None of the efforts to specify curriculum are necessarily appropriate for all students in all places at all times, because one can persuasively argue for the value of almost any form of generalizable social knowledge.

Because of the difficulty of justifying any body of universal content and because of the pedagogic danger that curriculum seen as content usually evolves to place students in passive learning roles, the curriculum must be grounded in something other than a body of content. A more justifiable basis for the curriculum is problematic inquiry into social questions. Problematic inquiry requires students to delve into questions, the answers to which are either unknown or surrounded by controversy: Why did Lincoln advocate war to save the Union? What effect has the labor movement had on wages and prices? Why should people be protected against self-incrimination? What does "equal protection of the law" mean? Should people be free to say anything they wish in a public speech? In what sense are all persons "interdependent"?

To explore such questions students need to learn specific facts and pieces of information, but the exact catalog cannot be specified in advance. Students also need to learn how to interpret data, how to understand "probabilistic," tentative, and relative claims, in contrast to absolute, definitive, true-false claims. They need to be stimulated by the discovery of ambiguity and by working toward reasonable, rather than "certain" resolutions. Inquiry must venture beyond factual or empirical truth; that is, knowledge of what happened or predictions of what is likely to occur.

Inquiry must also probe the meaning of language used to describe the world: What is racism, imperialism, social class, progress, community, a value, an opinion? Issues of definition must also be handled in a problematic way. Dictionaries do not solve the problem of ultimate meaning or utility of words; they only summarize conventional usage. Students should be assisted in making the distinction between conventional usage and "helpful" definitions, assisted in discerning how concepts shape our perceptions of reality itself.

Finally, inquiry must extend to ethical questions and questions of value: Should mercy killing be permitted by the state? Should the government nationalize the energy industry? Should young people be required to attend school? Rational inquiry into problems of this sort is as significant as inquiry in other areas. Since defensible solutions to ethical and value questions require empirical and analytic knowledge, all three areas of inquiry can, in a sense, be related.

Our emphasis on problematic inquiry is prompted in part by a glaring finding in the "current states" portion of the SPAN reports; namely, that much of what occurs in classrooms is not seen as problematic, but as truth-telling from teacher to student, from textbook to student. For students to show their competence, they must in turn tell the "truths" back to the teacher. We know that such one-way transmission of information is rarely used in nonschool life and is quickly forgotten. It is taught primarily because it is easier and more manageable for teachers (and students) than problematic inquiry, in spite of the fact that many students and parents claim they would prefer to learn to "think for themselves."

An important way to breathe life into social studies inquiry is to ground it in issues relevant to the immediate community outside of school. Students should be encouraged to venture into the community to conduct research, to perform volunteer community service, and to participate in advocacy roles, trying to affect local institutions. There are some logistical problems associated with community-based programs and some problems in persuading teachers of their educational value, but an impressive array of experience over the past ten years indicates that almost without exception community-based learning inspires student interest and commitment and is highly valued by them.

Teachers

Teachers should have periods of in-school time to devote to their own professional research.

One factor contributing to teachers' attitudinal malaise is the questionable legitimacy of the social studies field itself. Students perceive social studies teachers as having no special expertise of demonstrable value. We have no certain remedies for this problem, but providing teachers with the formal opportunity to practice the craft they presume to teach would help enhance their legitimacy. Such opportunities would permit teachers to create products of social inquiry so that, like artists, musicians, craftsmen, and athletes, social studies teachers would be seen as competent in a field independent of teaching. By showing students that they can "do" something interesting besides teach, teachers' research could increase student motivation. The teachers' excitement in carrying out their own research would help vitalize teaching by introducing questions which they could seriously pursue in their classes.

Carrying out meaningful research will, for most teachers, require the opportunity to withdraw from the constant pressure of preparing for the next class. There should be designated periods of time, perhaps four to six hours per week, reserved exclusively for professional research, broadly construed.

During this time teachers should be expected to engage in planned research that would ideally involve the kind of social research for which students are presumably being educated; for example, a study of the advantages and disadvantages of a proposed public policy, a journalistic account of a local social problem, historical research on local individuals and institutions, social science research to clarify school or community issues and literature reviews of an issue within a discipline. In carrying out such research, teachers would read, conduct surveys and interviews, discuss their work with one another, and produce written documents summarizing the work. Eventually, the work might be incorporated into curriculum or specific lesson plans, but initially it should be undertaken mainly for a teacher's own edification about a social studies topic. The results should not remain private, but be shared within the school and local community. This research time should not be used primarily for taking university courses, nor for district-organized inservice programs, nor for conventional efforts in curriculum development (a new unit on "inflation"). Rather, the point is to establish independent and structured research as an important part of the social studies teacher's role.

Teachers might work alone or organize themselves into seminars and task forces. The latter seems particularly appropriate, given the general isolation of teachers from interaction with adults on "adult" issues and teachers' reports that they find their peers the most helpful sources of professional advice.

How to allocate teacher time and how to assess and distribute the products of the research must be considered in relation to local needs. Some structure(s) must be devised to avoid the impression that this is simply "free time." Perhaps a social studies department could develop a three-year plan for needed research in its own mission. A department might even sponsor a competition among research projects, using other teachers and students as judges of quality. Perhaps teachers could become associated with local development and research centers, public interest organizations, or scholarly societies and carry out projects useful to those organizations as well as the schools. A variety of formats is possible.

School Climate

The size of high schools should be reduced to fewer than 1,000 students.

Failure to care about social studies is related in part to failure to care about schoolwork in general; that failure can, in turn, be traced to alienating features of large institutions. While adults may be able to learn in massive institutions such as universities and corporations, it is less likely for youth. Youth of high school age still require a degree of adult nurturance that is not possible in large corporate organizations. This nurturance can be provided only through reasonably sustained relationships, in communities where it is possible to know almost everyone by name, and where people relate in generalized rather than highly specialized roles. If a teacher interacts with a student only to teach a subject 50 minutes per day for one year, but does not meet the student in athletics, drama, worship, social occasions, community service, or spontaneous gossip and play, nurturance cannot develop; that is, the teacher will not feel a general commitment to the student's growth and the student will not perceive the teacher as someone to depend upon. Large schools make interactions between students and teachers on more than the single dimension of instruction increasingly difficult.

As indicated above, social studies education should focus primarily upon critical thinking or critical inquiry. This requires studying a problem to expose ambiguity and to move toward resolution, often on issues that do not have authoritative, definitive answers but only more or less justifiable positions. Students can learn to handle such problems intelligently only in situations in which they offer ideas and opinions to others orally and receive critical feedback. Such dialogue involves risks to self-esteem and the difficult challenge of listening to and helping others. Critical inquiry cannot be taught if a student is isolated from constructive discussion, no matter how hard one might study with books or think by oneself. Such dialogue is most productive when participants trust each other enough to be honest and when they have enough respect for one another to communicate mutual personal support in the midst of tough-minded criticism. Such conditions are virtually impossible in large schools in which teachers and students know one another only briefly and for highly specialized tasks.

This is not the place for the full debate on small vs. large schools. Familiar criticisms contend that small schools cannot provide the variety of course offerings or the social diversity of large schools and that people can be just as "inhumane" to one another in small schools as in large ones. On the other hand, large schools have proven to be less efficient economically than many originally assumed; their size has been cited as a major factor contributing to vandalism, delinquency, and drug abuse. Teachers and administrators alike complain of the problems of managing instruction in large institutions. There is no body of evidence to show that size alone differentiates good and poor social studies teaching, but impressive sociological and psychological arguments on the nature of human interaction favor smaller institutions as a necessary, albeit insufficient, condition for attacking the "don't care" attitude.

A sense of belonging in a school group can probably be achieved without constructing new buildings or tearing down existing plants. With declining enrollments, some high schools will "naturally" become much smaller. Remaining students and surviving staff should not be dispersed to centralized large schools. Parts of the building can be used for the school, with the excess space converted to alternative uses.

Or perhaps students and staff could move to a vacant elementary school. Schools of 2,000 or more might even divide their student body and staff into two separate units, sharing a building and/or using a double schedule. Some propose maintaining large schools but creating special support groups for students within them, but this strategy provides first aid to the stress inherent in large institutions rather than preventing such stress in the first place.

These recommendations should be seen as necessary but not sufficient steps. Even if they were implemented, there is no guarantee that attitudes toward social studies would change; attitudes are affected by many other factors that the recommendations do not address, including pressure on students to succeed just for the purpose of advancing to a higher status, general alienation from work in the society at large, and psychological difficulties in handling ambiguity. Unless steps such as those suggested here are taken, however, progress in vitalizing the field is unlikely.

DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STUDIES/SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

By John U. Michaelis

What are the desirable characteristics (desired states) of social studies/social science education? The answer to this question may be given in a variety of ways. One way is to set forth the characteristics of approaches based on different points of departure for program design and development. For example, characteristics of a program based on social studies as transmission of the cultural heritage or the social studies as social science may be noted, emphasizing knowledge as the point of departure. Or, characteristics of a program based on reflective thinking and decision-making or participation in action designed to improve society may be given, emphasizing social needs as the point of departure. Or, characteristics of a program designed to nurture the development of individual students may be noted, emphasizing personal needs as the point of departure.

The answer may be given in other ways. For example, one may take a competency-based approach and identify desired capabilities of teachers, desired behaviors of students, and the characteristics of a program that will develop them. Or, one may identify major dimensions of the program such as personal, social, and knowledge; or cultural, spatial, and temporal. Another way is to list characteristics under such headings as goals, organization, materials, methods, and evaluation.

The approach taken in this paper brings together the above elements, plus others, and includes characteristics related to the main components of a model for designing, analyzing, and evaluating a program of instruction. The main elements selected for consideration are presented in the checklist that follows.

An article similar to this paper written for Project SPAN appeared in Social Studies Review 18 (Winter 1979), pp. 35-41.

DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STUDIES/SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

Rationale

_____To design, explain, justify, and improve the program of instruction
_____Point of view, beliefs, and assumptions:
  ___Social reality ___Knowledge ___Learning ___Development
  ___Core values ___Other ______________________________
_____Analysis of foundations:
  ___Social ___Psychological ___Disciplinary ___Historical
  ___Philosophical

Focus

___Human relationships ___Social interaction ___Social institutions
___Relationships between people and their social and physical environments
___Social, economic, and political systems in the past, present, and future
___Personal, social, and knowledge dimensions
___Cultural, spatial, and temporal dimensions

Goals and Objectives

___Contributions to purposes of education:
  ___Self-realization ___Human relationships ___Civic responsibility
  ___Economic competence ___Thinking ability ___Learning how to learn
  ___Other: ______________________________
___Needs assessment and identification of contributions of subjects to the meeting of needs
___Contributions to purposes and needs noted for each subject:
  ___Understandings ___Attitudes and values ___Thinking processes
  ___Learning skills ___Participation skills
___Objectives stated for: ___Courses ___Units ___Lessons

A K-12 Program

___General education for all students and specialized offerings to meet differing needs
___Units and courses in a developmental sequence
___Content and processes drawn from:
  ___Social sciences ___Other disciplines as needed ___Current affairs
  ___New developments and social concerns (such as career, multicultural, law-focused, global, and environmental education)
___Critical selection of:
  ___Learning materials ___Learning activities ___Teaching strategies
___Continuing evaluation of:
  ___Learning ___Teaching ___The program of instruction ___Supervision
___Relationships to other subjects indicated
___Supervision and coordination of instruction

Supporting Elements

___A learning environment and conditions that aid teaching and learning
___A staff development program that promotes continuing growth
___An accountability system that interprets performance constructively

A Functional Rationale

A working rationale or frame of reference is used to make curricular and instructional decisions and to interpret the social studies program. Included within a rationale is the point of view on such matters as the central goals of education in general and the social studies in particular; the nature of learning, knowledge, and knowing; the nature of social reality, the good life, and the ideal person; the roles of educators, laypersons, and students in curriculum development; relationships between schools and other institutions with educational functions; and democratic ideals and values that underlie our way of life. Also important are beliefs and assumptions about various models of teaching, approaches to values education, models of evaluation, the impact of the hidden curriculum, ways of dealing with diversity in our multiethnic society, and involvement in activities designed to improve human relationships. Rationale building is a never-ending task, essential to the continuing improvement of the social studies and to staff development.

From the foundations of the curriculum are drawn content, processes, and implications that are useful in program planning, development, and evaluation. The social foundations are sources of values, beliefs, changes, demands, and legal requirements that must be considered in designing programs to develop democratic citizenship. The psychological foundations are sources of information used to derive implications for instruction related to human development and learning. The social sciences and other disciplines are sources of content and methods of inquiry for all levels of instruction. The historical foundations are sources of information on goals, patterns of organization, content, procedures, and other features that have been most effective in the past. The philosophical foundations are sources of the point of view, values, goals, objectives, and logical processes that guide teachers and others in planning, developing, and evaluating the program.

Focus

Interaction of people with their human and physical environment is kept in focus as students explore human relationships in our pluralistic society and in other societies. Social, economic, and political activities of people in our society and in other societies are examined. Legal, governmental, value, and other systems are investigated. Human interaction is viewed from various perspectives, including multicultural and multiethnic; local, state, national, and global; and past, present, and future. The richest possible content is selected from the social sciences and other sources as needed to study topics and issues and to participate in individual and group action designed to improve the human condition.

Personal, Social, and Knowledge Dimensions

These dimensions are kept in balance even though one may be emphasized at a particular time. The personal dimension includes the needs, questions, concerns, conceptions, learning styles, and backgrounds of students in our multicultural society. The social dimension includes societal values, conditions and changes, processes of human interaction, interaction among students, and participation in school and community activities. The knowledge dimension includes the concepts, themes, and generalizations that are structured in various ways and used as tools of thinking.

Cultural, Spatial, and Temporal Dimensions

These dimensions may be entwined in holistic studies or singled out at times for emphasis in analytic studies. The cultural dimension includes the diverse ways of living and key aspects of the cultural heritage needed for the general education of students. The temporal dimension includes the historical, contemporary, and alternative future aspects of human relationships believed to be of importance in human affairs. The spatial dimension includes the spatial distributions, areal associations, and interactions of people in one place with those in another that are helpful in understanding human affairs. Distinctions are made between widely applicable generalizations and those that are culture-bound, time-bound, and space-bound.

Goals and Objectives

Goals and objectives of social studies/social science education are viewed in the context of the educational enterprise. Contributions to the central purposes of education are recognized. For example, self-realization is nurtured and human relationships are clarified through learning experiences at all levels of instruction. Thinking ability and learning how to learn are developed as students apply processes and skills to topics, issues, and problems. Civic responsibility and economic competence are given special attention throughout the program of instruction.

Needs assessment is conducted to sharpen goals and objectives and to identify aspects of the program to be improved. Assessment may be done by identifying the discrepancy between goals and attainments or by identifying needs and problems directly as expressed by school personnel, laypersons, and students. Needs assessment may be done in the context of the overall educational program, followed by implications for various subjects, or it may be focused on social studies/social science education alone.

Goals of Social Studies/Social Science Education

Goal statements serve as overarching guides to planning, development, and evaluation; they typically include knowledge, attitudes and values, and skills. Some statements give special attention to selected concepts, values, and skills. The following list of five basic social studies/social science education goals singles out thinking processes and participation skills, which may be included under skills, because of their importance in program planning and development:

1. To develop the knowledge needed to function effectively in a democratic society and in an increasingly interdependent global society.
2. To develop the basic skills needed for life-long learning about human relationships.
3. To develop and use models of thinking and decision making and the intellectual processes essential to their use.
4. To develop the attitudes, values, valuing processes, and behavior patterns that are essential to responsible citizenship.

5. To develop the skills needed to participate in activities designed to improve the human condition.

Objectives

Goals are translated into objectives for instruction provided in lessons, units, and courses at various levels. Care is taken to state objectives that are consistent with goals and appropriate in terms of such factors as educational needs of students, local conditions, and state and local requirements. It is recognized that objectives are interrelated and that multiple outcomes flow from learning activities even though a particular objective may be emphasized.

A K-12 Curriculum

General education for all students and specialized offerings are included. Units and courses are arranged in a developmental sequence. Interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and disciplinary patterns of organization are used as appropriate in terms of objectives, backgrounds of students, and nature of the topic or issue. Instruction is provided on state-mandated topics and on other topics specified by local boards of education. Those aspects of multicultural, multiethnic, career, law-focused, and environmental/energy education, and other special programs related to social concerns are incorporated into instruction after critical appraisal of their contribution to the attainment of goals. Relationships to other subjects are analyzed to provide for mutually reinforcing and enriching instruction. Supervision and coordination of instruction are provided at all levels.

Learning Materials

The proper study of human relationships, attainment of goals, individual differences among students, and diversity within and among communities call for the use of a variety of learning materials. Printed and other media are critically selected from the following and included in instruction:

--Printed materials such as textbooks, references, and source materials

--Audiovisual materials such as sound and film media, ETV, and graphic

--Community resources such as study trips, resource persons, and events

Teaching Strategies and Learning Activities

Strategies are selected and orchestrated in terms of objectives, teaching and learning styles, available learning materials, and conditions of instruction. Conceptual, inquiry, and topical approaches are unified in order to obtain the advantages of each and to aid students in using concepts as tools for applying interpretation, analysis, and other processes to topics under study. Models of teaching are used to inquire into topics and issues in an investigative or scientific mode, to develop main ideas in a generalizing mode, to bring particulars about selected settings together in a holistic mode, and to make judgments and decisions in a decision-making or evaluative mode. Learning activities are selected and sequenced to accommodate learning styles, with attention to initiating, intake, organizing, demonstrative, and expressive activities.

Continuing Evaluation

Beginning with needs assessment and diagnosis of students' backgrounds and achievement, ongoing formative evaluation and periodic summative evaluation are conducted as an integral part of instruction. Teacher observation, examination of samples of work, and other informal assessment procedures are used along with tests, inventories, and other formal assessment devices. Information obtained from evaluation is used to improve teaching and learning, make curricular changes, and service the accountability system.

Supporting Elements

Environment for Teaching and Learning

The home, school, and community environments are conducive to effective teaching and learning. Cooperative home/school relationships are maintained. Both the formal and hidden curricula are supported by administrative policies and practices that place top priority on effective teaching and learning. The community environment is analyzed to capitalize on supporting elements and to remedy conditions that work against effective teaching and learning. Students' responsibilities for creating and maintaining a productive environment are clarified, established, and evaluated.

The classroom environment is marked by mutual trust and respect, individualized and personalized learning, and high regard for the importance of social studies/social science education. Extensions of teaching and learning beyond the classroom, the school day, and the school year are viewed as part of the teaching and learning environment.

Patterns of organization such as graded and nongraded, self-contained classroom and departmental, early childhood, middle and secondary levels, and team teaching and differentiated staffing are weighed in light of such criteria as contributions to attainment of goals, improvement of teaching and learning, concerns of teachers, and available facilities and support services.

Instructional support services are provided; these include library and instructional media services, supervision, evaluation, guidance and counselling, and special education services to facilitate mainstreaming.

Staff Development

A dynamic program of staff development is provided to sharpen the competencies that are essential to high-quality instruction. Both preservice and inservice education include attention to such competencies as the following:

Goals and objectives:

--Interpreting goals and breaking them down into objectives

--Preparing instructional objectives for lessons, units, and courses

Organization:

--Using interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and disciplinary patterns of organization as appropriate

--Incorporating new materials from the disciplines, current affairs, and special programs, after critical selection of those elements that belong in the social studies

Instructional media:

--Selecting and using a variety of media to achieve stated objectives

--Identifying bias and other deficiencies in instructional media

--Obtaining and creating media for students mainstreamed into regular classes and to meet individual needs.

Teaching strategies:

--Using a variety of critically selected strategies to achieve knowledge, thinking process, skill, and affective objectives

--Providing group-centered, individual-centered, and teacher-centered instruction as appropriate to improve learning

--Providing intake, organizing, applicative, and expressive activities that lift thinking from first-level processes such as interpreting and classifying to higher-level processes such as analyzing and evaluating

Evaluation:

--Using a variety of informal and formal techniques to assess learning

--Conducting needs assessment and diagnostic, formative, and summative evaluation

--Using data from evaluation to improve teaching and learning, report students' progress, improve accountability, and revise the program

Professional growth:

--Using current sources of information, inservice activities, and professional meetings for continuing growth

--Revising one's rationale for the social studies and using it to make instructional decisions

--Working with others for continuing improvement of social studies education

--Keeping abreast of new developments in the foundations of the social studies and drawing implications for program improvement

Accountability System

The accountability system is cooperatively designed and operated constructively to interpret the performance of students, teachers, and other school personnel. All objectives are assessed and a critical selection is made of both formal and informal techniques of assessment. Care is taken to avoid such pitfalls as limiting assessment to easily measured objectives, making unwarranted comparisons between classes and between schools, failing to take account of students' backgrounds when interpreting data, scapegoating of teachers, and neglecting individual differences by emphasizing instruction designed to show improvement on the average achievement of classes.

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SECTION III:
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